THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

ISAAC DON LEVINE

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THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

BY

ISAAC DON LEVINE

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WITH PORTRAITS

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The Russian Revolution

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FOREWORD

THE first six chapters of this book give a general survey of the forces that underlay the Revolution. The following six chapters deal with the events in the thirty months preceding it. The last four chapters cover the Revolution proper and its possibilities.

As this book is being completed, the clash between the Provisional Government and the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, forecast in the concluding chapter, has occurred. It came through the Council's increasing assumption of supreme power. At an extraordinary session of the Duma several leading members made desperate appeals to the radicals to come to their senses and save the new Russia from disintegration. Still the Council continued its visionary activities, calling for an international conference of Socialists to discuss peace terms. Discipline in the army began to decline at an alarming rate, threatening a dissolution of the country's fighting forces. General Kornilov resigned in protest from the post of Petrograd commandant upon finding that the Council was interfering with his duties. Generals Brusilov and Gurko requested

next to be relieved of their commands. After that followed the resignation of War Minister Gutchkov. As a climax came an impassioned speech by Kerensky, who said he wished he had died two months earlier when Russian freedom was still a beautiful dream instead of a distressing reality. The Council of Workmen and Soldiers then realized the true situation. A week before it had rejected a proposal to join a coalition Cabinet, but now it adopted it by a large majority. A conference between the Executive Committee of the Duma and the Council resulted in an agreement providing a plentitude of powers for the Provisional Government. Paul Miliukov retired as Foreign Minister to appease the extremists, and was succeeded by the youthful Minister of Finance Terestchenko. Minister of Justice Kerensky became Minister of War in the coalition Cabinet. Prince George E. Lvov retained his Premiership. Minister of Agriculture Shingarev was slated for the post of Minister of Finance, while his portfolio was scheduled for a member of the Social-Revolutionary party standing for the division of all land among the peasants on a communistic basis. Altogether the new Government was to include six Socialists.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

I

A CENTURY OF STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

THE struggle between autocracy and democracy in Russia, which culminated in the successful revolution of March, 1917, was one of the longest and bitterest contests of its kind in history. For more than a century Russia's progressive forces stubbornly and tirelessly labored for the destruction of the most despotic governmental system on earth. Perhaps no national movement for freedom has undergone a bloodier series of experiences. Certain it is that no revolutionary movement has had a harder task before it than the Russian; for no autocracy in the modern world was as firmly and powerfully intrenched as Czarism.

The birth of democratic ideas in Russia dates back to the beginning of the nineteenth century. The French Revolution is the direct progenitor of the Russian revolutionary movement. The democratic doctrines which emanated from France after the Revolution, spreading throughout Europe and sowing the seeds of democracy, were destined to penetrate Russia in a most peculiar manner. Napoleon's invasion of Russia created the soil on which the future Russian revolutionary movement was to grow. That invasion resulted in a Russian army's invasion of France. The Russian army of a century ago was officered by educated young aristocrats. The customary education of the Russian nobility was then wholly French. The current ideas in France could not but deeply affect the Russians, whose prolonged stay in western Europe had already imbued most of them with the radical theories of the time.

Autocratic Russia had come to France in order to defeat her imperial ambitions. In return France communicated to her conqueror the ferment that was to prove the doom of Russia's imperial autocracy. The Slav officers who went back to their native land after the

Napoleonic wars carried with them the germ of the Russian movement for freedom and democracy. Laden with pregnant thoughts borrowed from western Europe, these revolutionary pioneers returned home, where serfdom was still flourishing and liberty unknown, determined to work for a change in the Government.

A secret society was formed among the officers of the returned army for the purpose of discussing and disseminating democratic ideas. The society's ultimate purpose was to influence Emperor Alexander I. in favor of transforming Russia's Government into a democracy. Alexander I. was, in the early years of his reign, very progressive. He inaugurated a number of reforms and innovations. He planned to grant a constitution and a large measure of self-government to Russia. But toward the close of the second decade of the century he gradually fell under the influence of his reactionary advisers. He became one of the leading champions of absolutism in Europe, helping to suppress the revolutionary movements in Germany, Spain, and Italy.

The secret military society soon realized the futility of attempting to transform Russia into democracy by means of influencing the Czar.

A more revolutionary program was therefore elaborated by the society. This program called for the overthrow of the autocracy. Although confined exclusively to the army, the revolutionary movement made rapid headway. The secret society developed into a national organization, with branches in the various parts of Russia, where large numbers of troops were quartered. When Alexander I. died and his brother Constantine, heir to the throne, who was in Warsaw, abdicated in favor of his brother Nicholas, an interregnum followed. The Petrograd troops had taken the oath to Constantine upon the death of Alexander. The revolutionists decided to utilize the opportunity for seizing the Government. They persuaded the troops under their command that Nicholas was the author of a plot against his brother. A mutiny followed. The chiefs of the conspiracy were so sure that the entire army was with them that they let Nicholas alone while they had it in their power to remove him. This proved their fatal blunder. Nicholas succeeded in rallying a considerable force and attacked the revolutionaries. The rebellion was quelled without much trouble.

The ringleaders of the rising, which occurred

in December, 1825, were then arrested. They were all high army officers and members of noble families. The investigation that followed was conducted by Nicholas I. himself. It was soon disclosed that revolutionary leagues permeated the whole army. Wholesale arrests, accompanied by inhuman inquisitions, followed. Some of the revolutionists, known in history as the Decembrists, were executed and others exiled. But the flame of revolution lit by them did not go out with the suppression of the revolutionary movement. The severe punishment of the revolutionists only fanned that flame. The Decembrists had not sacrificed their lives in vain. The ideals for which they died were transplanted from the army to the public. And freedom and democracy became the goals of all that was thoughtful and educated in Russia.

The reign of Nicholas I., who was called the "Iron Czar," was not calculated to appease the growing dissatisfaction of the popular elements. The peasantry, still in bondage, and the intellectuals, stimulated by the second French Revolution, presented a fertile field for revolutionary agitation. The Emperor himself felt the need of reformation. He, however, believed

that what the nation needed was discipline. Being a soldier, he regarded the state as a military institution primarily. He crushed mercilessly all civic movements. Through his censorship he killed all thought. He established the Third Section of the secret police, which became the terror of all that was liberty-loving in the nation. Autocratic power never was exercised more absolutely in Russia than by Nicholas I. He even considered it his mission to uphold autocracy all over Europe. He cooperated with the European monarchs in their struggle against democratic progress. His thirty years' rule was a reign of terror and oppression, and still, on account of its very nature, it was more productive in latent democratic energy than any preceding reign.

This democratic energy expressed itself in a large number of secret societies and clubs during the '40's and '50's of the last century. These "circles," as they were known, were led by brilliant intellectuals, such as Petrashevski, Gertzen, and Bakunin, who later became the leading anarchist of his time. Socialistic in their nature, they were revolutionary in their attitude toward the Russian Government. Even more serious were the revolutionary outbreaks

among the peasantry. The yoke of serfdom lay heavy on the muzhik. And yet he began to bestir himself here and there. Uprisings occurred in various parts of the country. And the more severe the Czar's despotism the wider grew the discontent. When Nicholas I. launched upon the Crimean War in the belief that the military Government he built up was impregnable, only to be disillusioned, he acknowledged his policy had failed. The defeat in the Crimea exposed the Government's rottenness and stimulated the revolutionary and democratic movement. When Nicholas I. ascended the throne in 1825 there was no public opinion in Russia. When he passed away in 1855 a powerful current of public opinion had made itself felt in the life of Russia. This opinion was practically unanimous. Radical reforms were demanded by all classes. The democratic institutions of western Europe were studied and admired in the Slavic empire. So strong and universal was the pressure of public opinion that the young Emperor, Alexander II., could not remain indifferent to the national will. He did not go as far as his liberal advisers urged him to, but he instituted a series of reforms, the chief of which was the emancipation of the serfs in 1861.

The half-measures of Alexander II. only stimulated revolutionary activities. The peasants were freed, but the soil allotted them was to be paid for at many times its worth during the next fifty years. The leaders of thought considered the emancipation of the peasantry an empty gift. Autocracy remained as ruthless as ever. The expected constitution was never granted. Socialism therefore found a fruitful field in Russia. Secret organizations again sprang up throughout the country. Composed mainly of students, these organizations devoted their activities at first to revolutionary propaganda among the agricultural and industrial elements, and later to terroristic schemes. One of the first of such organizations was the "Land and Freedom" group. Its activities provoked several agrarian risings and for a time threatened a serious rebellion. The Government took rigorous steps to suppress the agitators. Numerous arrests were made and many of the prisoners were exiled to Siberia without the formality of a trial. This only caused greater bitterness in the hearts of those who escaped the nets of the police and secret service.

The fight between the popular elements and the autocracy assumed a more acute form than

ever. The gulf between the two forces soon became wider and deeper. The military and police officers treated the democratic elements cruelly and barbarously. The attitude of the authorities toward the propagandists and, for that matter, toward all who were intellectual and educated, was one of frightfulness. The movement for freedom soon assumed a wholly terroristic form. The bitterest foes of democracy in the Government were condemned to death by a revolutionary committee. The sentences were carried out by members of the organization. A number of high officials were thus removed. But this did not stop persecutions by the police. Instead, it only intensified the battle between the Government's agents and the radical forces. A climax was reached when, after several unsuccessful attempts, Alexander II. was assassinated by a revolutionist on March 13, 1881.

After this a violent reaction set in. The new Emperor had no sympathy whatever with democratic institutions and liberal thought. He suppressed the revolutionary movement for a time by wholesale arrests and exile to Siberia. The censorship of the press increased in rigidity, and the supervision of the police over Russian

life was extended to unprecedented limits. Organized persecution of Jews, accompanied by a series of pogroms, marked the beginning of the new Czar's reign. Finns, Poles, and other peoples inhabiting Russia were subjected to a relentless campaign of Russification. Many of the reforms promulgated by Alexander II. were practically nullified by the new emperor. All these reactionary measures could have but one result—the further expansion of revolutionary thought in Russia. Ever broader and broader did the wave of dissatisfaction grow, engulfing larger and larger sections of the heterogeneous population of the country.

A number of revolutionary parties, largely Socialistic, like the Social-Democratic, Social-Revolutionary, Bund, and others, were founded secretly in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Their activities grew enormously during the reign of Alexander's successor, Nicholas II., who ascended the throne in 1894. There was not a community in Russia at the beginning of the twentieth century without its secret revolutionary committee. While some of the revolutionary parties still continued the policy of assassination of Government officials, nearly all of them devoted themselves to more

constructive work. An elaborate system of subterranean printing-shops produced a flood of revolutionary literature of all descriptions. Industrial and political strikes multiplied throughout the country. Thousands of agitators, at secret meetings, prepared the masses for a general uprising. Along with this illegal movement there grew and developed a legitimate public opinion that cried for reforms and liberty. The middle classes, the nobility, and the financial interests made up the backbone of it. It became too insistent to be ignored, and there was no feasible method of combating it. The Russo-Japanese War, like the Crimean, discredited the Government in the eyes of Russia and the entire world. And still the Czar would not let the people share in the management of the nation's affairs.

The disastrous war with Japan proved a stimulus to the cause of democracy, just as the disastrous Crimean campaign was responsible for the emancipation of the serfs. Popular unrest culminated in a series of revolutionary outbreaks after January 21, 1905, known in history as "Bloody Sunday," when the populace of Petrograd marched to the Winter Palace to ask the Czar for freedom. In reply the peace-

ful crowd was shot at and sabered by the Cossacks. This event marked the beginning of the revolution of 1905. While the labor and agricultural classes were getting ready to rise against the Government, the more moderate elements petitioned the Emperor for a constitution. To a delegation of nobles Nicholas II. promised to convoke a parliament. When, however, the law providing for a national assembly was published in August it was discovered that the proposed parliament, or Duma, was to be nothing but a consultative institution, the emperor still reserving the right of legislation. The nation became infuriated with this "constitution," and a revolt swept the country in October.

The main feature of the rebellion was a general strike, which paralyzed completely the whole governmental, civil, and economic life of the empire. The strike proved an effective weapon. The Emperor issued a manifesto granting a parliamentary form of government and all the liberties enjoyed by a free people. For a moment it seemed that the struggle between Czarism and Russian democracy was at an end. And it would have been at an end had the leaders of the revolt taken over the

Government immediately. But this they failed to do. They trusted Nicholas's promises, thereby launching the nation in one of the bloodiest periods of its history.

As soon as the reactionary circles surrounding the Emperor realized that the revolution had left them in their former positions, they engineered a tide of reaction which bathed Russia in blood and woe. Almost immediately after the conclusion of the general strike, drunken mobs, backed by the police and troops, were incited to massacre Jews and intellectuals. The whole nation was convulsed by hundreds of such massacres. Punitive expeditions were despatched to the section of the country where the revolutionary movement had been strongest. These expeditions executed thousands of citizens without trial. Hundreds of thousands were arrested, tortured in prisons, and exiled to Siberia. All attempts at revolt, such as the Moscow rising of December, 1905, were frustrated promptly and savagely. Of the liberties granted by the Czar in October, 1905, very little remained in force. Only the promise to convoke a parliament—the Duma—was not retracted.

Organized revolutionism was crushed out by

the reactionary Government. But it was impossible to crush the spirit of the nation. And beginning with April, 1906, when the first Duma met, the national spirit found its expression in parliament. The first Duma was not Socialistic. It was composed almost entirely of members of the Constitutional-Democratic party. This party stood for a limited monarchy. The first Duma demanded, first of all, the granting of the promised liberties and the cessation of arrests and executions. The reactionary Government would not hear of such measures. The conflict between the latter and the Duma quickly reached a stage when decisive action one way or the other was required. The Government dissolved the Duma.

An abortive attempt was made by a number of leading deputies to start a revolution. They went to Viborg, Finland, and issued a manifesto to the people, exhorting them to rise in defense of their national assembly. But the iron hand of Czarism lay too heavy on the masses. No rising of large dimensions occurred. And the eyes of the nation turned in hope to the second Duma, praying that its fate might be different from the first. But this could hardly be, in view of the fact that its com-

plexion was not much different. The extreme revolutionists gained a number of seats, while the reactionaries also increased their contingent, but the dominant party was still the Constitutional-Democratic. Collaboration with the Government was, of course, impossible without its ending the reign of terror in which the country lived. Martial law existed almost everywhere, pogroms still continued, wholesale arrests and summary executions were as yet the order of the day. The second Duma fared still worse than the first. The Government arrested a number of deputies on a framed-up charge in order to provoke the Duma to excitement, thus providing a cause for its dissolution. After the second Duma's end, a change in the election law was promulgated by an imperial ukase. The alteration was made with a view to securing a large representation of landowners and clergy in the next Duma.

The third Duma was pretty close to what the Government desired. It was chiefly composed of the conservative party—the Octobrist—which believed in limited reforms by the grace of the autocrat. Public opinion did not support it. For five years it sat, without inaugurating any substantial changes in the oppressive atmos-

phere of national life. The knout and the bayonet still ruled the country. Hundreds of thousands of Russia's best sons were smarting in the jails and in Siberia. Hundreds of thousands more migrated to other lands. Reforms were indefinitely postponed. Liberty was forgotten by the Octobrists, who drew their name from the October manifesto of the Czar. The third Duma, in a word, was nothing but a tool in the hands of the bureaucratic Government. At the expiration of its term, in 1912, the fourth Duma, which was destined to play a historic rôle of momentous universal import, was elected on the same basis as its predecessor and with nearly similar results. The country, as a whole, became indifferent toward the Duma. No one could, of course, foresee the tremendous event that was to shake it to its very foundations and transform it into the citadel of democracy and revolution.

With the Duma converted by the Government into a reactionary institution, revolutionary agitation began to manifest itself again in popular ranks in spite of the Czar's repressive measures. There was unrest in the labor world. Strikes would often result from political as well as economic reasons. Thus on the eve of the

outbreak of the Great War the industrial population of the capital was almost entirely on strike. Still, that strike was purely of a local character and would have been, no doubt, easily suppressed by the authorities. It was nothing but an indication of latent activity. It was evident that deep in the national organism the flame of revolt was still smoldering. But it would have taken a generation at least for it to reach extensive proportions. For the army was with the autocracy. The peasantry was cowed into submission by relentless executions. Pessimism and skepticism dominated the intellectuals and the middle classes. And there was not even a nationally organized movement among the labor elements.

Such was the state of the Russian struggle for freedom in the summer of 1914. Autocracy was triumphant. Democracy lay prostrate at its feet. The Duma, once the hope of Russian democracy, had been turned into a pillar of reactionism. The gloomiest prospects dominated public opinion. Czarism grew more defiant and more tyrannical than ever. The scattered forces of democracy were not allowed to take breath. To liberal Russia and the civilized world it seemed that Russian bureaucracy and

autocracy were impregnable, and that there was hardly a chance in a hundred for the overthrow of both in the near future. No one thought of the approaching war and its effect on Russia. But the titanic struggle for universal democracy and civilization, brought about by Prussia's military aggression and the Hohenzollern aim at world domination, was destined to result in the triumph of Russian democracy over Czarism within a very short time.

II

RUSSIAN AUTOCRACY AND THE GREAT WAR

THE outbreak of the European war found Russia divided into two hostile camps. In one camp were grouped the autocracy, bureaucracy, and the extreme reactionaries; in the other were the progressive, radical, and revolutionary elements of the democracy. The latter were under the complete control of the former group. But the line was so sharply drawn between the two camps that no observer failed to notice it. The interests of the two groups were so diametrically opposed that, when speaking of Russia, one had to designate which of the two Russias one referred to—the Russia of the Government or the Russia of the people.

The two Russias, by virtue of their conflicting interests, could not possibly react to the Great War in the same manner. In the unprecedented struggle between democracy and

Prussian military autocracy, the interests of democratic Russia were really allied with those of western Europe's democracies, while the true interests of Russia's autocracy obviously lay on the side of Prussianism and junkerism. But Russian autocracy was forced by Prussia to align itself on the side of democracy. This was the tragedy of Czarism. It was compelled to work for its own doom, fighting against its only natural ally in Europe—Prussianism. Czarism and Prussianism were in 1914 the two leading autocratic powers in Europe. The genealogical, political, and spiritual bonds uniting them were woven of solid fiber. And yet this union was disrupted by Prussia. Had the latter put the preservation of autocracy in Europe above all other aims, the traditional and natural alliance between the Teuton and Slav monarchies would have never been severed. But Prussia's imperial designs became the *Leitmotiv* of her national existence. And the Hohenzollern ambition toward world domination overshadowed the necessity of cementing the institution of autocracy in Europe. Besides, to work for the latter purpose would have meant co-operation with Russia. But co-operation implies partnership. And what Prussia wanted

and aimed at was mastery, supremacy, domination.

A study of the ties that united Czarism and Prussianism, both physically and spiritually, reveals the community of their interests, emphasizes the tragedy of autocracy in Europe—the split in the ranks of the autocratic powers in the face of the rising tide of universal democracy—and illuminates the background of the historical process that resulted in the downfall of Czarism. The genealogical bond between Prussianism and Czarism dated back to the first half of the eighteenth century, when the Romanoff dynasty began to intermarry with German royal houses. Upon the death of Peter the Great in 1725 the male line of the Romanoffs became extinct. From 1730, when the Duchess of Courland, a niece of Peter, was proclaimed empress under the name of Anne, German influence began to dominate Russian national affairs. The reign of Anne, for instance, which lasted a decade, is described by an impartial historian as "a régime of methodical German despotism." The highest governmental posts in the empire were held by three Germans, Biren, Munnich, and Ostermann, while many others of German origin filled numerous minor

offices. Anne was succeeded by a daughter of Peter the Great, Elizabeth, who disliked the Germans. In spite of this she proclaimed as her heir-apparent a German, a grandson of Peter and the son of the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp. He became known as Peter III., but remained hostile to Russia even as Czar. A German by character, habits, education, and religion, he resisted all efforts of Russianization. After a short rule he was dethroned and assassinated.

Peter III. was succeeded by his wife, who was Princess Anhalt-Zerbst and daughter of a general in Prussian service. Her marriage to the future Czar had been arranged largely by Frederick the Great, whose object was the strengthening of the amity between Russia and Prussia. She was christened Catherine in Russia, and became known in history as Catherine the Great. While she adapted herself completely to the life of her empire, Catherine's foreign and internal affairs bore the stamp of Teutonism. After Catherine, from 1796 to 1917, six Czars reigned in Russia. Of these, five married German princesses. Paul I. married Sophia Dorothea of Württemberg; Alexander I. married Maria Louisa of Baden; Nicho-

las I. married the Prussian Princess Charlotte Louise; Alexander II. married the daughter of Grand Duke Louis II. of Hesse; and Nicholas II. married Princess Alix of Hesse. Only Alexander III. married a non-German—a Danish princess. In the veins of the last representative of the Romanoff dynasty there flowed fully seven-eighths of German blood, as compared with considerably less than an eighth of Romanoff blood.

This physical bond between the dynasties created the basis for a political bond between the Teuton and Slav monarchies which developed and gained strength in the course of nearly two hundred years. Peter III. was in an alliance with Frederick the Great. Catherine the Great continued this alliance, and later co-operated with Prussia and Austria in the three partitions of Poland. Alexander I., from a sense of friendship, purely, refused to support Napoleon's proposal to dismember Prussia, although he was offered in compensation for his acquiescence the Danubian principalities. Under the influence of Metternich Alexander I. signed the famous Troppau Protocol, which bound Austria, Prussia, and Russia to intervene in any European state, in case of necessity, for

the purpose of crushing all revolutionary outbreaks. This Protocol, later affirmed by the three powers at the Laibach Congress, laid the foundations of the spiritual bond that soon appeared between the Teuton and Slav autocracies. This bond was based on the principle of the preservation of autocracy in Europe. That was the time when democracy first began to make rapid strides in continental, especially eastern and northern, Europe. Germany and Austria-Hungary were astir. A revolutionary movement even originated in Russia. The monarchs therefore rallied to the banner of autocracy. Alexander I. helped to crush the movements for freedom in Germany, Italy, and Spain. His successor, Nicholas I., even considered himself the guardian of European monarchism. He was always on the lookout for some popular movement in order to hasten to suppress it. Prussia and Austria made ample use of the Czar's support. When the Triple Alliance of Vienna, Berlin, and Petrograd was renewed in 1835, one of its first acts was to suppress the republic of Cracow, "as a center of revolutionary agitation." The Triple Alliance was to Nicholas "the last anchor of safety for the monarchical cause." When, in 1849, the Hungarian rebellion

broke out, Nicholas heeded Francis Joseph's appeal for help in spite of a certain coldness which had developed in the Austro-Russian relations. He hurried to Hungary, crushed the rebellion, and presented a pacified country to the Austrian emperor. The Teuton, especially Prussia, paid the Czar in the same coin. When Poland revolted in 1863, and France and Great Britain threatened to intervene in behalf of the martyred Polish democracy, Bismarck came to the aid of Alexander II. The institution of autocracy was in danger. Hence, Prussia's quick support of Czarism. Bismarck also helped Russia to regain part of her losses in the Crimean War. And autocratic Russia, in return, contributed strongly to the realization of Prussia's imperial designs.

But Russia's kinship with Prussia did not express itself only through external channels. Internally, the Russian Government was largely in the hands of men of Teuton origin. The nobility of the Baltic provinces became a power in Russian politics about a century ago. The members of the Czar's family were mostly intermarried with German and Austrian royalty. This created a German atmosphere in the Russian court, where the Czarina was usually

German. The highest offices in the Government would often be filled with men of Teutonic stock. Their influence grew tremendously in the last few decades. And this influence was never for liberty or reforms. It was a force for oppression, severe punishment, utter disregard for public opinion, and rigid formality. The subordination of right to might, contempt for intellectualism, and absolute lack of civility and humanity were the symbols of that force. In a word, Prussianism, and all that it stands for in the eyes of the civilized world, had joined Czarism in its own citadel, the two growing into a nearly perfect spiritual union.

Here was the most logical, the most natural, and the most powerful political combination possible—the traditional and spiritual alliance between Germany, with her subordinate Austria, and Russia. Ties of blood bound them together. Past political history backed such an alliance. But, above all, their common interests demanded their continued union. The tide of democracy was rising tempestuously within and without. United, Germany and Russia might have defied democracy for generations, perhaps for centuries. Divided, they exposed themselves

to succumbing to democracy individually and more speedily.

Fortunately for humanity, Prussian autocracy aimed at more than the fortification of monarchism in Europe. Prussia began to dream of world power. The interests of every European state therefore conflicted with Prussian interests, which reached out in every direction. Austria had been defeated by Prussia and turned into a subordinate ally. France had been administered a severe blow. Then Russia's turn came. At the end of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78 Russia had obtained by the treaty of San Stefano considerable advantages. The Czar expected Prussia's support in the solution of the Eastern problem in return for his aid in the creation of the German Empire. But Bismarck could not possibly help Russia to expand, in view of his own larger aims. At the Berlin Congress of 1879 he offered no support whatever to the Czar's representatives. Moreover, shortly after the congress, he entered into an alliance with Austria for the express purpose of counteracting Russian plans in the Balkans. Prussian autocracy had betrayed its colleague. And the crack caused in the ranks of the Teuton-Slav monarchical alliance by Prussia's sudden change

of attitude toward Russia grew wider and deeper with the development of Germany's power and aggression. For a time an attempt was made to restore the Three Emperors' League. It was reconstituted for a period of three years. But signs were accumulating that Prussia harbored secret designs against Russia. The methodical weakening of France and the subordination of Austria to Prussia, along with the latter's increasing appetite, convinced Alexander III. that Germany was seeking the dominant rôle in Europe, which was to be accomplished by the isolation and conquest of Russia. Alexander III., therefore, began to seek an understanding with France. Thus a great feat was accomplished. Prussian autocracy, because of its ambition for world domination, had alienated Russian autocracy. The most marvelous political phenomenon of the age was the result of this alienation. Reactionary and despotic Russia and radical, republican France were driven into each other's arms!

The *rapprochement* between France and Russia developed into an alliance in the last decade of the nineteenth century. It was more to the interests of France than of Russia that the alliance seemed necessary. Hence France's

enormous efforts to widen the gulf between Prussia and Russia. The latter, however, under Nicholas II., remained on good terms with Germany. France invested billions in Russia in order to strengthen the bonds that held her close to the Czar's empire. But France did not dare to try to influence Russia's internal affairs. And these affairs were almost entirely dominated by the Russian Prussianism. Reactionism was rampant in the Government in spite of the alliance with republican France. The ties of relationship between the Russian court and the German royal houses continued to exist. And Germany's influence and power in Russia expressed itself also through a newly created economic bond. Germany's commerce with the Slavic empire developed to immense proportions. Germany got most of her raw materials from Russia, at cheap prices, which enabled her to build up her wonderful industrial and commercial systems. From the economic point of view Russia was a vast colonial empire at Germany's side, to which she had unusual privileges of access obtained through a commercial treaty concluded with Russia during the Russo-Japanese War. Dominating Russia economically, and, to a large

extent, politically, Germany had every reason to be satisfied. But Germany wanted Europe, the world. She dreamed of imperial schemes that belonged to the feudal age. She challenged the Franco-Russian alliance without realizing the turn events were to take on account of her military tactics.

Just as Prussianism did not foresee that the war it initiated was to become the decisive struggle in the world between democracy and autocracy, so Czarism did not realize, upon taking up arms in July, 1914, the nature of the approaching conflict. When the war broke out Russian autocracy threw itself into the battle with the same ardor and impetuousness as the Russian democracy. The two Russias, the bureaucratic and democratic, seemed united for the first time in their existence. But intrinsically such a union was impossible. Their interests were antagonistic. Where democracy's interests lay there was the doom of autocracy, and *vice versa*. A fatal blunder, therefore, must have been committed by one of the two Russias. Either the democracy or the autocracy had joined the wrong side and fought for its own destruction. And the fatal blunder was, of course, committed by the autocracy. Czarism

was forced by Prussianism to take up arms against its natural colleague. Czarism allied itself with its internal foe—Russian democracy—and external historical enemies—British and French democracies—in the prosecution of a cause that held out but gloomy prospects to autocracy everywhere. The Russian bureaucracy soon began to realize that it was undermining its own interests, and that it was speeding headlong toward complete self-annihilation.

The reaction that set in in the high court and bureaucratic circles necessitated a painful revision of their original attitude toward the war. This revision could lead to but one conclusion—that Czarism had landed in a very precarious position. The dilemma was by no means soluble. Russia was forced into the war; therefore patriotism required that all the elements of the empire fight with all their resources and energies in defense of the country. On the other hand, the fullest prosecution of the war would mean the defeat of Prussianism as well as Czarism. Which were to be preferred: The interests of the country or the interests of the bureaucracy? The choice was between patriotism and treason. The former meant the ultimate passing of the old régime. The latter

meant the possible retention of the autocratic hold on the nation.

Confronted by such a dilemma, the overwhelming majority of the elements that made up the reactionary forces and the bureaucracy of the country did not hesitate to choose patriotic service to the national cause. But a small, though very influential, minority chose the other path. This minority was composed of a few rabid reactionary leaders who believed that it was better for Russia to suffer defeat and remain an absolute autocracy than win the war at the expense of the destruction of Prussianism and the triumph of democracy; of a number of high Government officials and Teuton functionaries in the Court; and of the Czarina and the other Germans in high places. Altogether, this Germanophile group numbered only several hundred persons. Believing in the final triumph of German arms, this group was content to remain inactive at first and watch the natural course of events that was to result in the Allies' defeat. But as the natural course did not run along the expected lines, the bureaucratic traitors began to move. To action they were also stimulated by the rapidly expanding current of democratic energy and activities.

The suppressed popular forces had suddenly arisen from the graves in which they had been interred so recently by the reactionary authorities. There were signs in the air of profound changes that were dislodging the traditional strata of political life in the country. The bureaucrats already felt, though it was as yet too early to perceive with the eyes, the germination and evolution of a new arrangement of forces which augured little good for the future of the old régime. Pressure from within for determined action was therefore growing daily in weight. On the other hand, external pressure coming from Germany after Russia's disastrous defeats in North Prussia at the hands of Von Hindenburg was also exerted on the Germanophile group in increased volume. Thus the movement for a separate peace with Germany was born in the high councils of the nation. Centering in the Court, in the very midst of the clique that made and unmade governments, this movement became a continuous source of danger to democratic Russia.

Within six months the orientation of the invisible bureaucrats, who held the Government of the empire in their hands, with regard to autocracy's attitude toward the Great War

had undergone a complete transformation. Starting out fully inspired with hope and resolution to labor for the defeat of Prussianism, Czarism at the end of half a year prayed secretly for the defeat of the Allies. The Czar himself, swayed as he was by various influences, had no absolutely fixed attitude toward the war. But the camarilla that was behind the throne, the group that formed the invisible though omnipotent Government, and which symbolized Czarism as a political institution, had definitely fixed the conclusion of a separate peace with the Central Powers as its goal. Such became the attitude of the Russian autocracy toward the Great War.

III

RUSSIAN DEMOCRACY AND THE GREAT WAR

IN June, 1914, Russian democracy as an active political force was practically extinct. The arm of reaction had halted all progress. The fourth Duma, in which the conservative Octobrists predominated, was virtually a governmental appendix retained by the bureaucracy for decorative purposes. The radical Social-Democratic and Social-Revolutionary parties no longer existed as national organizations. The liberal Constitutional-Democratic, or Cadet, party was not permitted to develop its activities. The nightmare of the preceding eight years' reaction, with its torrents of blood, had paralyzed all the muscles of democracy. The latent energy was there. Deep in its breast the fuse of revolution still burned. But under the overwhelming pressure of Czarism the gases of revolt were not allowed to expand. It would have taken decades for these

gases to have flamed into a national conflagration. Autocracy's continued grip on the democratic elements of the country therefore seemed assured to its supporters as well as to its enemies.

The outbreak of the Great War in July, 1914, thrust Russian democracy into the process of a swift regeneration. The events that led up to the war, the causes of the war, and its issues infused a new spirit, new life, into the prostrate body of democracy. Hope replaced pessimism, idealism succeeded skepticism, union—division in lightning-like evolution. Popular Russia sensed immediately the great meaning of the war. It realized what bureaucratic Russia failed to realize—namely, that the supreme struggle between democracy and autocracy in Europe was at hand, and that the interests of Russian democracy demanded its utmost exertions in the great conflict. And it rose to the occasion. Numb and lifeless a month ago, popular Russia was now swept by a mighty spiritual upheaval. With the exception of France, no other belligerent nation went through such an uplifting and exalted state of mind as Russia did at the beginning of the war. The ban on alcohol was the direct result of that

almost religious fervor which seized the nation. The Russian bureaucracy would have never enacted, let alone initiated, the prohibition of vodka without the tremendous pressure exerted on it by the transformed people. Russian bureaucracy was incapable of exaltation. It lacked vision just as it lacked a soul. Reforms were foreign to its nature and habits. Had it understood the meaning of its act it would never have promulgated the imperial ukase which wiped the great scourge of vodka out of Russia's national existence. But Russian bureaucracy did not understand the significance of the transformation that had occurred in Russia. It ascribed the marvelous awakening of the democracy to patriotism. The menace of an aggressive foe, it thought, was responsible for the Russian people's enthusiasm about the war.

The misinformed outside world shared with the Russian bureaucracy this fallacious view. The outside world's knowledge of Russia was based on superficial observations conveyed by a few correspondents. But bureaucratic Russia should have known better. It should have known that patriotism, *per se*, patriotism of the "my-country-right-or-wrong" type, was a rare

article in the ranks of the Russian democracy. The lesson of the Russo-Japanese War should have been remembered by the Russian reactionaries who controlled the fortunes of the empire on the eve of the Great War. In the former war, which was on its face an aggressive blow on the part of Japan, Russian public opinion did not enthusiastically respond to the cause of national defense. As a matter of fact, Russia's radical and progressive forces put the cause of democracy above that of patriotism during the struggle with Japan, and worked for the collapse of the Government. Russia's revolutionary movement gained powerful impetus during that struggle, and the revolution of 1905 was largely a product of the Far Eastern campaign. The radical forces openly advocated Russia's defeat at that time, seeing in such outcome the guarantee of bureaucracy's downfall. Had Czarism, in 1914, studied the nature of the spiritual upheaval transforming popular Russia, it would have discovered that patriotism was not its dominant motive, that it was largely generated by the endangered position of European democracy and freedom, and that it was due, above all, to the feeling and conviction of the Russian

democracy that its own interests would be served, and those of Czarism fatally injured, by the destruction of Prussianism and militarism.

The reasons that determined the practically unanimous attitude of the Russian democracy toward the war were of two categories. First, there were reasons common to nearly all the elements of democratic Russia. Second, the specific motives actuating certain particular forces in the Russian democracy. Perhaps the chief reason of the first category was the opportunity the war created for the removal of Russia's internal Prussianism. The entire Russian nation harbored deep hatred against the German influences in the empire's high councils. The traditional bonds existing between official Russia and Prussia were always obnoxious to the Russian people. There was a deep-seated antagonism between the Slav and the Teuton in Russia that dated back to the beginning of the seventeenth century. At that time a bitter and relentless struggle originated between the old Slav nobility and the German officials, introduced first in Russia during the reign of Peter the Great and his successors. After the death of Peter, the German and the

Slav parties wrangled for the control of the throne and the Government. When a Russian-German occupied the Russian throne, such as Empress Anne, Duchess of Courland (1730–40), the entire control of the Government went over to the Germans, while the Slav nobles were exiled to Siberia. On the other hand, during the reign of Elizabeth, from 1741 to 1761, the German officials of the previous administration went into exile. On the whole, it was the German party which was dominant. And with the accession of Catherine the Great to the throne the Teutons' position was made secure, and never afterward shaken. The resultant resentment in the Russian heart never passed away entirely. The Russian people remembered the common cause Russian and German autocracy had made in the past for the suppression of freedom and democracy everywhere in Europe. The people remembered that some of the most cruel and inhuman suppressors of the Russian revolutionary movement were of German blood and name; that, while all the foreign nationalities inhabiting the country united with the Russian democracy in its struggle against autocracy, the German element in the nation stood for reactionism,

Czarism, and oppression. The last was certainly a most remarkable phenomenon. But it is a fact that least stirred by the cause of democratic Russia was the German population of the empire.

All the people of Russia felt that the destruction of Prussianism would mean the ultimate destruction of despotism. Great Britain's entrance into the war after Germany's invasion of Belgium had a tremendous effect on the Russian democracy. The complete annihilation of Prussianism in Europe and in Russia, and a close union with the peoples of France and Great Britain, this was a message that appealed strongly to all classes of the Russian public. Great Britain, the mother of democracy, France, the cradle of liberty, spelled hope and progress to all liberal Russians alike. All that was forward-looking in the country saw in a close union with these two nations a guarantee for a future free Russia. Fighting for civilization, justice, humanity, Russian autocracy—according to the feeling of progressive Russia—was bound to become influenced by the great moral principles it was fighting for. The substituting of British and French influence in the Russian Court instead of the German was considered

another force for the benefit of democracy and progress.

The attitude of the various Socialist parties toward the war was determined, in addition to the above, by specifically Socialistic reasons. As soon as the war began the leaders of the Russian Socialists, who lived mostly abroad as political exiles, declared themselves in favor of co-operating with the Government in the prosecution of the war. George Plekhanov, the veteran leader of the Russian Social Democrats; Grigori Alexinski, one of the dominating figures in the Socialist group of the second Duma; Vladimir Burtzev, the chief historian of the Russian revolutionary movement; Prince Peter Kropotkin, an old revolutionist and a theoretical anarchist; and a number of other political exiles whose opposition to the Czar's Government up to the outbreak of the war was implacable, now came out in support of working hand in hand with their traditional foe in the prosecution of the war. Behind these men stood the great majority of Russian Socialists and revolutionists. It was an extraordinary situation. Czarism and its bitterest enemies had found a common cause. The revolutionist who but yesterday was ready to assassinate the

reactionary official to-day offered his services and whole-hearted support to the same official. The reason for this, besides the destruction of Prussianism and the defense of European democracy, was of an economic rather than of a political nature. Russia's path to political freedom lay through economic development, according to the Socialistic view. Russia was still a feudal nation, economically the most backward in Europe. Her commercial relations with Germany were of such a nature as to keep her as long as possible in that feudal state. Germany drew from Russia nearly all the raw materials responsible for her own industrial expansion. To keep Russia raw, not to allow her to develop industrially and commercially, were the aims of Germany. With the help of her political influence in the Russian Government she was enabled to conclude treaties and win privileges which were designed to interfere with Russia's economic progress. And so long as Russia remained a great feudal country there was little hope of her becoming a democratic state.

It is the transformation from feudalism to capitalism that creates powerful forces for political freedom. The new development of large industrial and middle classes incident to such

transformation means the development of democratic currents and elements in the nation. Russia presented a vast and fertile field for economic enterprise. Her natural resources were great enough to make her in a short time one of the leading capitalistic countries in Europe. But Germany was in the way. Besides, Germany had no surpluses to invest in Russia. France and Great Britain were the great capitalistic *entrepreneurs* in the world. What Russia needed was an economic union with these two nations, not with Germany. Practically all the ante-bellum foreign investments in Russia came from these two countries. But Russia needed much more capital. And to bring her in closer contact with these two economic pioneers it was necessary to release her from the German shackles. On these grounds the Russian Socialists built their arguments as to why Russia should fight Prussia to the bitter end. They saw in the evolution from feudalism to capitalism a necessary historical step preceding political liberty, and in the hastening of this evolutionary process they saw a guarantee for the sure arrival of such liberty in Russia.

A number of the Russian socialists did not

share the views of the rest of democratic Russia. They did not change their former attitude toward the Czar's Government, considering Russia's defeat in the war as the surest way of bringing about the fall of Czarism. They became known as "Porazhentsi," which means advocates of defeat. Regarding the war as a struggle for capitalistic domination exclusively, they took the stand that the interests of Socialism would not be served by the victory of the German or French and British arms, as labor has no country. According to them, it was from an economic slavery which the workers should free themselves, and this slavery was international and common to all countries alike. To co-operate with the Czar's Government it was impossible for them even to contemplate. And yet it was this co-operation on the part of the Russian democracy that largely brought about the Russian revolution and the overthrow of the old régime.

This group was the only element in popular Russia that opposed the war. It made itself felt during the thirty months of war which preceded the revolution. History records that it was radical, revolutionary Russia that was divided on the issues of the great struggle.

No such division existed in the ranks of the liberal and progressive forces. The Constitutional-Democratic party, which represented these forces, was unanimous in its attitude toward the war. If there were any special currents visible in this party, they were those that supported the war on account of some specific reasons. Thus, the question of the Dardanelles was responsible for such a special current. A considerable portion of Russian progressives stood for the war, in addition to other reasons, also because they believed that the interests of Russia demanded a warm outlet to the high seas. Constantinople, as a holy city to orthodox Russia, made no special appeal to the Russian people, in spite of the impression abroad that it was a big factor in Russian war sentiments. But Constantinople, or at least the Straits, as a prime necessity to commercial Russia was a factor of considerable importance in defining the democracy's attitude toward the Great War, and especially toward Turkey.

Another element was Russia's sentimental Slavism. This element had been expanded by the outside world into a veritable universal menace. A word was coined for it—Pan-

Slavism—and it was held up to humanity as a monster of the type of Prussianism or Pan-Germanism. In reality there was no such thing as a Pan-Slavic danger. There were in Russia a few Pan-Slavists, to be sure, but their influence in the Government or court was *nil.* A few publicists and professors, who wrote books and articles that appealed neither to the Russian bureaucracy nor to the democracy, constituted the "menace." The Russian bureaucracy and autocracy were not moved by the paper Pan-Slavism, not because of any disinclination toward schemes of conquest, but because of the Prussian influence that dominated them. The Russian democracy was not stirred by the Pan-Slavic doctrine simply because it was the most pacifist democracy in the world. The Russian people were sick of war for the sake of conquest. They had fought too many such wars under their despotic Czars. That did not mean, however, that the Russian democracy had no affection for the Balkan Slavs. It was a purely sentimental Slavism, though undoubtedly of a national character, which prevailed in Russia at the outbreak of the war. And though foreign to Pan-Slavism, this national sentiment was another factor in

determining the popular attitude toward the immediate cause of the Great War.

There remains one more element to be dealt with in regard to Russian democracy's view of and attitude toward the European conflict. This element was one of the bulwarks of Russian democracy at the time of the revolution. But two and a half years before that event it could hardly have been considered as a part of democratic Russia. This element was the Octobrist and Right parties. The Octobrists were conservatives and the Rightists reactionaries. Both consisted largely of land-proprietors, clergymen, former tchinovniks, wealthy manufacturers and merchants, and some ignorant and semi-illiterate peasants. Since these elements predominated in the fourth Duma at the beginning of the war, the tracing of their remarkable evolution in the thirty months of the war preceding the revolution constitutes the history of the marvelous transformation of the fourth Duma from a lifeless, bureaucratic, governmental institution into one of the chief forces responsible for the overthrow of the Czar and his Government. The attitude of the Octobrists and Rightists toward the war was purely nationalistic. The great issues of the struggle,

the question of democracy or autocracy, did not at first affect these parties. To them the war was simply a case of national emergency. The Central Powers attacked Russia. Austria's aggression in Serbia, and Prussia's efforts to bring about the war, made it sufficiently clear to the conservative majority of the Duma that it was the patriotic duty of every Russian to fight in defense of his country. It therefore supported the Government as usual, and in no sense could this support be considered as prompted by reasons peculiarly democratic or humanitarian.

But while the reactionary majority of the Duma entered the war on purely patriotic and Russian grounds, it was to emerge from only one year's war experience in a revolutionary attire. In July, 1914, the Duma was a bureaucratic institution. A year later it was almost entirely democratic. It entered the war for the purpose of defeating a foreign foe, but experience taught it that the foreign foe's defeat must be preceded by the destruction of the internal enemy. The incompetence, inefficiency, corruption, treason which dominated the bureaucratic Government soon began to bear calamitous fruit. The disasters on the fields of

battle and the disorder in the rear began to convince the conservatives that the Government was at the bottom as well as at the top decadent, that changes were badly needed, that the persistent attacks made in the past by the democratic elements against the bureaucracy had been well founded. Little by little the conservatives became progressives, the reactionaries turned into moderate progressives, and even the extreme monarchists underwent a change of mind. It was a phenomenal thing in Russia's history. Democracy recruited new supporters and members from the ranks of its recent opponents. Russian autocracy was losing the very pillars of its foundation. The Great War had exposed the bureaucracy's shortcomings and defects, converting, step by step, to the cause of democracy all classes and parties and factions in the multi-racial Russian Empire.

IV

THE BIRTH OF SOCIAL RUSSIA

THE respective attitudes of the Russian autocracy and democracy toward the Great War, as outlined in the preceding two chapters, were the fountain-heads from which the forces responsible for the Russian revolution sprang. The attitude of the Russian autocracy toward the war was negative; of the democracy, positive. The negative forces generated by the former as reactions to the war became positive as stimulants of unrest and democratic thought. In other words, autocracy actively, though unwittingly, co-operated with the democracy in the production of the powers responsible for its own destruction. The story of this co-operation is the story of the events that led up to the revolution. Two sets of forces, working from opposite directions, for more than two years stored up the energy that culminated in the political eruption of March, 1917. Without

the negative, injurious activities and qualifications of the bureaucracy or without the positive, constructive activities and ideas of the democracy the wonderfully successful revolution would not have been possible. Both elements were essential to the great overturn, and both contributed to it nearly equal shares.

As soon as the war broke out the Russian public hastened to the aid of the Government and the army. Social organizations sprang up throughout the empire for the purpose of helping Russia fight and win the war against Prussian militarism. These social bodies were largely stimulated by the vital issues at stake in the great struggle. The cause of democracy called the Russian public to mobilize all its resources in a campaign of aid to the soldiery. The first organization to launch such a campaign was the Moscow Zemstvo. Since the work of the Zemstvos became one of the chief factors responsible for the overthrow of Czarism, it is important to indicate here the exact nature of the Zemstvo system and its rôle in the history of democratic evolution in Russia.

The origin of the word Zemstvo is *zem*, which is the Russian equivalent for soil. The Zemstvos are rural, provincial organizations, created in

1864 by Alexander II., who liberated the serfs. The Zemstvo of each province is governed by a council. This council or board is elected by a Zemstvo assembly. The assembly is made up of the nobility, which forms the large land-proprietary class of the province, of representatives of the peasant communities, and of clergymen who own land. Originally the Zemstvos were endowed with the authority of legislative bodies. Questions of taxation, education, public improvements, and similar matters belonged to their jurisdiction. In a large measure, therefore, the population of each province was to enjoy self-government. When the Zemstvos were first introduced the reform was hailed as the beginning of a new era. But self-government could not well exist and develop in autocratic Russia. The opportunity that the Zemstvos presented for debate and discussion of public questions was in contradiction to the Government's police regulations. The Zemstvos naturally became the centers of liberal thought. They contributed enormously to the popular movement for constitutional government. During the last years of Alexander II.'s reign, when revolutionary outbursts rapidly multiplied, progressive public opinion found its organ of ex-

pression in the Zemstvos. But the status of the Zemstvo was changed radically after the assassination of Alexander II. The new Emperor adopted a consistent policy of repression, and curbing the Zemstvos consequently became a matter of necessity from the point of view of the reactionaries controlling the Government. A law was enacted which subordinated the Zemstvos to the Governors of the respective provinces. No decision of a Zemstvo was valid unless approved by the governor of the province. As the Russian Governor was practically a police officer, the work of the Zemstvos under him was rendered very difficult. The Governor was also empowered to exercise rigid discipline over the members of the council. This amounted to putting the Zemstvos under police supervision.

In spite of all restriction, the Zemstvos became a great constructive force in the life of the nation. The revolutionary movement that stirred the country during and after the Russo-Japanese War prompted the Zemstvos to decisive action. Toward the end of 1904 a convention of Zemstvo leaders was held in Petrograd with the object of urging the Government to grant liberty and reforms. A

deputation of eminent Zemstvo workers demanding a change in the Government system presented themselves to the Premier. The public opinion of the entire country rejoiced at the time, seeing in the event a turning-point in the nation's history. The imperial ukase that followed failed, however, to satisfy the people. The revolutionary movement gained even more powerful impetus.

After the assassination of Grand Duke Sergius in Moscow early in 1905 another convention of Zemstvo delegates was held in Moscow. Headed by Prince Troubetzkoy, a second deputation of Zemstvo leaders presented themselves to the Czar and urged him to grant a constitutional form of government to the country and to convoke a constitutional assembly as soon as possible. The Emperor issued soon afterward a ukase establishing a constitutional assembly, which was, however, so far from what the deputation and the nation desired that the act still more exasperated the people, provoking the revolution of 1905 and the consequent establishment of the Duma. The influence of the Zemstvos in the history of Russian democracy thus constitutes a very important part of it and the most influential Zemstvo in Russia has been

the Moscow organization. During the war with Japan this Zemstvo called upon those of the other provinces to unite in furnishing medical aid to the army. The nature of that war made it impossible for the few united Zemstvos to develop into a national organization. It was destined for the Great War to turn the Zemstvos into that tremendous weapon on behalf of democracy which was so instrumental in the overthrow of Czarism.

At the outbreak of the European conflagration in 1914 about fifteen Zemstvo leaders of Moscow met to discuss the question of a relief organization for the victims of the war. At this meeting the foundation for the social Russia was laid. The dominating personality at the little gathering was one of Russia's noblest sons, Prince George E. Lvoff, a devoted Zemstvo worker. He was destined to play a leading rôle in the events of the following three years. The meeting decided to call a national conference of delegates of various Zemstvos. On August 12, 1914, representatives of nearly all the nation's Zemstvos met in Moscow. The meeting resolved to form an association, which became known as the All-Russian Zemstvo Union. At the head of the Union stood a

General Committee and a chief representative, or president, elected by a congress of Zemstvo delegates. Prince G. E. Lvoff was chosen president and he has retained the post ever since.

Thus was social Russia born. It grew and expanded at an incredible rate. The Zemstvos only showed the way. Thousands of local, provincial, and social relief organizations soon appeared in all parts of Russia. As their activities are typified by the larger bodies, it will suffice merely to call attention to them as the powerful foundation on which social Russia was built. Shortly after the formation of the Zemstvo Union, another important organization sprang into existence. The city of Moscow, through its council, invited all the other cities of Russia to send representatives to a conference for the purposes of war relief work. At the conference a Union of Towns was formed, which developed into the second strongest social organization in the empire. Without the work of the social organizations a successful revolution would have been impossible at this time, therefore it is important to know intimately social Russia's activities. These multifarious activities were all embraced in those of

the greatest of all social bodies, the All-Russian Union of Zemstvos. A brief report of the Union's activities was made in January, 1916, by its General Committee. This report conveys some idea of the magnitude of the Union's operations. The following summary covers only the first year of the life of the Union of Zemstvos:

The activity of the Union of Zemstvos, as originally planned, was to be confined to the care of sick and wounded soldiers in the interior of Russia, the Union being looked upon as one of the auxiliary organizations set up in connection with the Red Cross Society and the Army Medical Service. The Union decided, accordingly, to provide and maintain a number of hospital beds, not exceeding 30,000, from the fund voted by the Zemstvos, but during the first few weeks of war the influx of wounded was so great that the number of hospitals at the disposal of the Army Medical Service and the Red Cross Society proved to be wholly inadequate. A vast number of hospital beds were urgently needed in the interior of the country. The Army Medical Service and the Red Cross Society, chiefly devoting their attention and energy to the work at the front, were

unable to solve this problem by their own efforts, and this moved the Government to call in the aid of public bodies.

The number of hospital beds which it was decided should be provided in the interior of the country was based on the estimate made by the military authorities. It was computed that altogether 280,000 beds would be required. Of this number 155,400 beds were to be provided by the Union of Zemstvos and the Union of Towns, the Union of Zemstvos having made itself responsible for two-thirds of these. The total number of beds was afterward increased in accordance with the increased demand. At present there are 173,000 beds provided by the Union of Zemstvos, which thus occupies the first place among the institutions devoting their energies to the care of sick and wounded soldiers. The War Office provided 160,000, the Municipal Union about 70,000, and the Red Cross Society about 48,000 beds. Altogether more than 3,100 hospitals contain beds kept up by the Union of Zemstvos.

Apart from providing hospital accommodation, the Union of Zemstvos had to take up the whole of the work connected with the establishment of distributing and evacuating centers,

the military authorities being unable to cope with this problem. The Union of Zemstvos was authorized to manage these centers independently and to deal with the complicated business of acceptance, registration, and despatch of the wounded to hospitals in the interior of the country.

This stupendous task could only have been accomplished with the whole-hearted co-operation of all the Zemstvos. The work was carried on with great zeal; thousands of new hospital beds were furnished daily, thus enabling those engaged in the work to accommodate the continual stream of wounded.

Simultaneously with the erection of the requisite number of hospitals, the Union arranged hospital-trains for the conveyance of wounded soldiers. A special commission, appointed for that purpose by the General Committee, tried to design a type of train which would be equipped with all necessary conveniences for the wounded, at the lowest possible cost, and which would at the same time assure a regular system of treatment.

By an agreement with the general headquarters, the Union was requested to undertake the setting up of fifty trains, and to run them for

the duration of the war. The cars given over to the Union by the military authorities were adapted for the transport of the wounded; medical and household appliances were provided, and the requisite medical staff appointed. Caring for this staff and for additions made to it, as occasion required, together with the regular working of the trains, proved a most difficult task.

After organizing hospitals, hospital-trains, and food-providing units, the Union of Zemstvos extended its activity at the front. Its first attempt proved a success, and the high command laid on the Union the most varied tasks. New enterprises followed one after the other, more primitive ones were extended and new duties were added. The units at the front increased in number; stores of various kinds, with their bases in the rear, accumulated; and, in conjunction with the War Office, stations, medical organizations supplemented by canteens, bathhouses, and laundries were established by the Union. The victualing of a host of over 300,000 men, engaged in war construction in the immediate rear of the army, fell to the care of the Union. The sanitary work, with numerous units for dealing with infectious diseases,

vaccination, disinfection, bacteriological laboratories, and medicinal stores, developed rapidly. The Union of Zemstvos was required likewise to relieve refugees, and organized a network of canteens, medical institutions, registration and labor offices, refuges for children, workshops, etc.

The first necessity in the soldier's outfit is his footgear. The need of boots in the army is expressed in millions of pairs. From the beginning of the war the General Committee and the local committees of the Union organized all over Russia the preparation of footgear for the army, but the Russian market was soon exhausted. This induced the Union to try the foreign markets. The Union appointed a special committee in New York to procure different kinds of goods for the army, boots included. Through this committee, 300,000 pairs of boots and 1,700,000 pairs of shoes were bought in the United States.

The conditions of the Russian market made it clear that the greater part of raw material as well as tanning extracts imported from abroad before the war were for the present unobtainable. At the same time enormous quantities of skins of animals slaughtered for

the army were either being destroyed or bought up by traders and resold at high prices. To counteract these abuses the military authorities empowered the Union to collect and buy the skins at all the fronts and forward them to the centers where fur coats and felt boots were made for the men. At first the exclusive right of buying skins was given to the Union within the region of the southwestern front, where official statistics showed the number of slaughtered animals was the largest. The whole business was successfully managed by the Union's committee at the southwestern front. Skins to the number of 550,000 were collected from March 15 to September, 1915. The experiment at the southwestern front proved that the work was in safe hands, consequently the military authorities proposed to the Union to collect skins on the western and Caucasian fronts. Thus at present the providing of skins, footgear, etc., for the army is almost exclusively in the hands of the Union, which has arranged through private factories for the dressing of the skins, as well as the making of necessary outfits from the prepared leather.

These activities of the Union of Zemstvos belonged to the early development of the or-

ganization, but they show how social Russia attacked enormous tasks and carried them out with unusual success.

The Union of Zemstvos was followed by the Union of Towns. Supporting them were the innumerable local committees and the powerful net of co-operative societies. Russian democracy had demonstrated its genius. Young and amateurish, social Russia showed herself superior in every way to the tried and experienced bureaucratic Government.

V

THE DUMA AND SOCIAL RUSSIA

SOCIAL Russia was the response of Russian democracy to the challenge of Prussianism. As such it was entirely a product of the war. This fact is one of the strongest proofs that the Russian revolution of March, 1917, was the fruit of the great world conflict, and that without the war Russian autocracy would have continued, for decades at least, to govern the vast Slavic nation. For social Russia was the agency through which the war mobilized the forces responsible for the revolution. From social Russia came the power that wrought epochal changes in the structure of political and military Russia. The political physiognomy of Russia underwent unprecedented changes mainly because of the activities of social Russia. Therein lies part of the explanation of the wonderful ease with which popular Russia cast off the burden of autocracy.

The revolution's astounding features, which amazed and puzzled the entire world, were really the natural and logical sequels to a rapid historical process inaugurated and concluded during the war.

This process manifested itself in the gradual transformation of the conservative fourth Duma into a radical body. Through contact with the activities of social Russia as contrasted against those of the Government the "Right" elements in the Duma began to move toward the "Left." Before the war these elements had perverted notions of liberal Russia's fitness to do constructive work. A liberal, a progressive, was to them a revolutionary agitator, an anarchist, a nihilist. A social organization, being democratic in essence, although patriotic, could not compare in the estimate of the honest Russian bureaucrats and their supporters with the Government's institutions in efficiency. While welcoming all national efforts toward helping the Government prosecute the war successfully, the Duma majority in the fall of 1914 had implicit faith in autocracy's competence and ability. The Russian autocratic and bureaucratic machine seemed so solidly established, and the governmental plant looked so firm and

effective in internal crises, that the reactionary deputies and their constituents had no doubt of the fitness of Czarism to meet a grave international crisis. All criticisms of the Government as a corrupt and incompetent institution they ignored and ascribed to the revolutionism of the critics. Only a great war could have exposed the decayed foundations of the bureaucracy. And when such a war came it provided the first opportunity for those honest upholders of the old régime to revise their earlier opinions. The tardy, antiquated, internally discordant, inefficient, and uninspired processes of the Czar's machine one by one revealed themselves in their true light with the progress of the strenuous struggle.

In contrast to this state of affairs on the part of the bureaucracy was democracy's effort—social organizations. Without this contrast it is conceivable that the political metamorphosis undergone by the conservative and reactionary elements might not have occurred. In other words, the Duma would not have changed as it did, and the revolution would not have been successful. Many members of the Duma joined the army in various capacities, many others went to the front for dif-

ferent purposes, while more remained in the rear and watched developments there. And all of them began to see the light. They saw the despised Progressives, Liberals, and Radicals working hard for the army's welfare. They also saw bureaucratic Russia, through her corrupt and incompetent tchinovniks, at work. And they began to draw astounding conclusions. The tchinovnik was ignorant, lazy, and disloyal; the Zemstvo worker was intelligent, efficient, patriotic, and honest. Tasks accomplished by the Unions of Zemstvos or of Towns in a month would have required six months for the Government. The lesson was too striking, too obvious, to pass without effect. Criticizing the Government became more and more the occupation of those elements in the Duma and the nation who but a short time before had supported with all their energies the sacredness of autocratic institutions. Marvelous things began to transpire in Russia, things that were not reported in the foreign press because they were not "news." But Russia's political history never saw a more momentous event than the steady change toward radicalism in the complexion of the Duma. Conservatives grew into Liberals, Reactionaries into Progressives. The

citadel of Czarism was losing one by one its very pillars and bastions.

To accelerate this alienation of its supporters it was but necessary for the Government to break down. So long as victory crowned Russian arms, bureaucracy felt secure in spite of all its errors and crimes. But as soon as the Russian armies began to meet with reverses all those elements in the nation that had supported the bureaucracy turned against it. For the Russian defeats, as a rule, were due to incompetent and often treacherous leadership. Thus Russia's disasters in East Prussia were due to the treason of a member of the General Staff. The storm of popular indignation that broke out at the time against the Government, which had harbored a traitor in the highest council of the army, did not subside after his execution. The conservative elements in the Duma and the nation began to regard the Government with suspicion. This suspicion increased with the continued failure of the War Ministry. The colossal Austro-German drive against Russia in the spring and summer of 1915, the most stupendous military operation in history, which resulted in the Teuton occupation of Poland, Lithuania, and parts of Vol-

hynia and Courland, brought Russia near collapse. No more pathetic spectacle was ever staged in a nation's history than the one presented by the helpless Russian Government after the German invasion of Poland. It definitely demonstrated to all patriotic Russians the bureaucracy's unfitness to cope with big problems. The very head of the War Department, Minister Sukhomlinov, was found to be as corrupt as he was incompetent, and was subsequently imprisoned. No more disgraceful conduct on the part of the Government was possible in the circumstances. It symbolized the utter rottenness and ineptitude of the autocratic system. The Duma majority finally came to realize the real condition of governmental Russia. At the same time they saw social Russia make herculean efforts toward the rehabilitation of the shattered military organization. The stupendous scale of these efforts, so much responsible for the changes in political Russia, could be seen from the measure of their development during the first two years of the Great War.

The All-Russian Zemstvo Union had handled through its offices the enormous sum of 2,500,000,000 rubles in the two years of its existence.

The Central Committee of the Union alone had had in the same period passed through its treasury the sum of 1,300,000,000 rubles. The Union maintained 317 institutions on the northern front, 1,043 on the western, 1,631 on the southwestern, and 288 on the Caucasus front. These institutions included hospitals, ambulance stations, sanitary trains, medical and feeding units, medical and feeding stations on the various supply routes, tea-rooms, field dentists and dental and X-ray stations, laboratories, disinfection stations, baths, laundries, motor, motor-cycle and horse-supply communications, veterinary stations, boats, shops, factories, etc.

On July 16, 1916, the material on hand in all the warehouses of the Zemstvo Union was insured for 22,790,000 rubles. In the two years of its activities the Union supplied the War Ministry with 78,000,000 pieces of linen, while it issued to its own institutions at the front 50,000,000 more pieces of linen. In addition to this the Union had an order to supply the army with 4,000,000 tent awnings and 3,000,000 sand-bags. Altogether it had filled orders for 131,000,000 linen articles of all descriptions.

The Union's order department supplied the Government in 1916 with 5,000,000 pairs of

winter boots, 4,000,000 winter coats, 5,000,000 pairs of gloves, and 10,000,000 pairs of socks, all for the sum of 75,000,000 rubles. On January 1, 1916, the Union had furnished to the War Ministry about 3,000,000 articles for winter use. From August 3, 1915, to August 10, 1916, the branch institutions of the Union had distributed articles to the value of 36,000,000 rubles.

The Automobile Department of the General Committee had purchased 1,261 automobiles, 261 motor-cycles, and 60 motor-boats. The special factory maintained by the Sanitary-Technical Department had turned out articles to the value of 1,450,000 rubles. Up to January 1, 1916, this department had expended 7,000,000 rubles on medicine. During the whole of 1915 the department distributed medicines to the value of 1,200,000 rubles; in the first four months of 1916, to the amount of 1,031,000 rubles. On July 14, 1916, the department had on hand various medical supplies valued at 2,800,000 rubles.

The Union of Towns was another striking proof of the miraculous growth of the activities of social Russia. The Union, headed by Moscow, consisted of 474 Russian cities and towns. For administrative purposes it was divided into

thirteen central districts. In the two years the central treasury handled through its offices the sum of 125,000,000 rubles. The Union maintained relief institutions at the fronts. Sixteen hundred of these were on the European front. Up to July 14, 1916, the Union fed 15,000,000 people. It maintained 208 surgical hospitals in European Russia, 7 in Finland, and 10 in the Caucasus. The budget for the second half of 1916 was for 31,000,000 rubles. Forty-five per cent. of all the hospital beds in Russia at the disposal of the army, including those maintained by the Russian Red Cross, which was a very extensive organization, was maintained by the Union of Towns. From August 14, 1915, the medical depot of the Union issued medicines to the value of 3,000,000 rubles.

Statistics relative to the activities of the most important, in a military sense, social organization, the War Industries Committee, were not obtainable. But the industrial mobilization of Russia for war purposes, undertaken and executed by the Committee, was such as to prove to the conservative but patriotic elements in the nation that social Russia was eminently fit to direct and develop big national affairs.

Another factor in the situation, which brought

about the change in the views of the Duma majority and the forces it originally represented, was the co-operative movement of Russia. The middle classes and the nobility had proved through the Unions of Zemstvos and of Towns, and through the War Industries Committee, what they could do. But the peasantry and labor were yet to convince the Duma of their loyalty. These two classes maintained a vast system of co-operative organizations. There were 37,000 co-operative institutions of all kinds, which included 13,000,000 members. Their capital approached 300,000,000 rubles. These figures showed how colossal had been the development of the co-operative movement in Russia. They pointed to a mighty agency for constructive work in the life of the nation. The Great War called upon it to leave its exclusive domain of local activities for the broader one of national work.

The rural co-operative bodies combined into unions. The urban organizations did the same. All began to contribute to the national efforts to win the war in spite of the Government's dismal failure. Co-operative Russia provided one fifth of the bread consumption of the army. It supplied the War Department with hundreds

of thousands of tons of fodder. The co-operative workshops, in all parts of Russia, filled large orders of the War Ministry and Union of Zemstvos. Thus the muzhik and the laborer did their share of the organized social work. All Russia, from aristocrat to peasant, had set to the task of supporting the soldier in the field to enable him to achieve victory over Prussianism.

With the splendid record of social Russia before it, and the wretched showing of the Government, it became clear to the fourth Duma that the bureaucracy no longer had the right to claim exclusive control of the nation's affairs. The democracy had definitely proved itself more patriotic and more efficient than the bureaucracy. Thus it came to pass, after a year of warfare, that the fourth Duma, originally the most reactionary of Russia's parliaments, turned into a body of radicals. When the Duma met in the fall of 1915 it presented a remarkable contrast to its political complexion in the fall of 1914. The Octobrists—the conservative party dominating the Duma—combined with their former political opponents and formed the so-called Progressive Bloc.

The Progressive Bloc made its entry into national life with a declaration of a program

of necessary reforms, representing the demands of the various groups and parties in the Duma. The following were measures slated for immediate promulgation:

1. The establishment of a coalition Government of persons enjoying the confidence of the country and pledged to the legislative institutions to enact in the near future a definite program.

2. A complete change in the old governmental methods which were based on distrust of any social initiative; in particular:

(a) The strict enactment of elementary laws in the Government.

(b) The elimination of the double power exercised by the military and civil authorities in affairs not directly pertaining to the conduct of military operations.

(c) A change in the personnel of the local administrations.

(d) A rational and natural political policy for the perpetuation of internal peace and the elimination of discord among classes and nationalities.

3. The suspension by an act of his Majesty of all cases begun for purely political and religious offenses, which were not criminal in

their character; the release of political prisoners and the restoration of their rights, including participation in the elections to the Duma, the Zemstvos and municipal boards.

4. The return of the political and religious offenders from exile by administrative processes.

5. The full and absolute suspension of all religious persecution, and the recall of all the circulars that corrupted the meaning of the ukase of April, 1905.

6. The solution of the Polish-Russian question; the abolition of all restrictions shackling the Pole in Russia, and the introduction of a bill dealing with the granting of autonomy to Poland.

7. The initial step on the way to abolish all restrictions against the Jews; the facilitating of their entrance into educational institutions; and the abolition of all regulations in their choosing of a profession. Also the restoration of the Jewish press.

8. A conciliatory course in regard to Finland; changes in the personnel of the administration; the ending of all persecution.

9. The restoration of the Ukrainian press; the revision of the cases of the inhabitants of Galicia who are under arrest or in exile.

10. The re-establishment of labor unions and the cessation of the persecution of workmen engaged in hospital activities on the suspicion that they were doing illegal, revolutionary work.

11. Reforms and changes in the organization of the care of the wounded and war refugees.

12. The emancipation of the peasantry with the rest of the population.

13. Reforms in the Zemstvo system.

14. The encouragement of all co-operative movements and enterprises.

15. The enactment of prohibition as a permanent statute.

The outstanding demand in the program was for a responsible Ministry, which meant a parliamentary form of government in the true sense of the word. This demand later became the watchword of the Duma in its fight with the bureaucracy. It was a fight that no one could have foreseen. The Duma which but a year previous was the Government's rubber-stamp had become the leader of democracy's battle against the established order. The institution which only twelve months before was sneered at and scorned by the people had become the champion of liberty, reform, and democracy.

VI

THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE ARMY

NO single factor in the revolution was of such paramount importance as the army joining the ranks of the rebels. Without the army's support the Russian democracy would never have succeeded in overthrowing the Czar. A united nation meant a great deal as a force for a successful revolution. A parliament solid in its opposition to the Government was of profound import in the same sense. But so long as the military organization was on the side of the established order, all revolt and attempt at revolt was doomed to failure. The alienation of the army from its traditional masters, therefore, became the most vital necessity of all for a successful revolution. The democratization of the army during the war may consequently be regarded as the process overshadowing all others in the course of the rapid evolution undergone by all Russia in the thirty

months between August, 1914, and March, 1917.

Russia's military organization before the war was the very foundation of Czarism. As such it was the hereditary foe of democracy. The Russian army was the most soulless, blind, and obedient military machine in Europe, with the exception of the army of Germany. As a tool of the Government in crushing internal disturbances it was hated and feared by the people. The army paid the nation in the same coin, fully justifying its reputation. A Zabern affair was a very common occurrence in Russia, though seldom, if ever, reported in the foreign press. Russian junkerism thickened and fortified the wall dividing the army and the people.

At the outbreak of the war the Russian army was loyal to the Czar. No one could imagine a process by which this pillar of Czarism could be turned into a revolutionary force in a short time. But the unthinkable happened. And no factor was as potent in the transformation of the army's traditional status as the Union of Zemstvos and the other organizations of social Russia. Social Russia devoted itself with extraordinary energy to relieving the soldiers' hard lot. If democratic Russia was to achieve

its aims, it was imperative to defeat Prussianism. And only the army could do that. Hence the spontaneous and universal response on the part of the Russian people to the needs of their soldiery. Phenomenal changes were wrought by the war. The mutual hatred and suspicion that existed between liberal and military Russia were suddenly replaced by a strong current of affection on the part of the former. The soldier at the front and his wife and parents at home soon felt this new attitude. At the front the social organizations were taking care of him as no government department ever did. The baths established in the rear of the battle-line, the feeding-stations, the various medical relief stations, brought the soldier nearer to the democracy than propaganda ever could. Above all, the humane treatment accorded the soldier by the social workers was something new to him. The bloody Cossack and the disciplined regular could not remain unmoved at such care and affection. Under the Russian soldier's uniform, which stood for inhumanity and rigidity, a warm human heart began to stir itself.

This reaction of the Russian army to the activities of the democracy was reflected in numerous tributes paid by officers of various

grades to the social organizations. The President of the All-Russian Union of Zemstvos received countless expressions of gratefulness from the rank and file, as well as from the commanders of divisions, corps, and armies. The latter's attitude demonstrated that even the heads of the army had come to recognize that the old system had dismally failed, and that the Russian public had proved itself more loyal to the soldiery than the bureaucracy. The commander of the N infantry division issued the following typical order on the anniversary of the Zemstvo Union's activities with his division:

"To-day it is a year since the Third Front Detachment of the All-Russian Zemstvo Union inaugurated its field activities with us, a year of hard, strenuous work under the most unfavorable conditions of warfare.

"Every wounded man will remember with profound gratitude that tender care and help which the personnel of the detachment had given to him in these trying days, disregarding all danger and working under fire without for a moment deserting its noble and honorable post. I consider it my moral duty to point out the exceptionally useful and sincere work of this

detachment, which voluntarily assumed the mission of serving humanity and rendered great aid to the division which fought against the superior forces of the enemy. Did not the realization of every fighter that right here at the front the most tender aid and attentive care awaited him, help him to devote all his powers and energy to the battle-field, where he faced at every step the destructive and relentless fire of the enemy? What amount of labor and initiative had been expended for the purpose of lightening for our gray soldiers the heavy burden of war and making them feel the attention and devotion of our best citizens! Baths, laundries, tea-rooms at the front lines, established by the detachment, keep up the spirits and conserve the strength of our fighters. It is hard to describe in figures the actual usefulness and scale of the great work developed by the detachment with the division under my command."

This official tribute of a general to the work of social Russia shows clearly what part the latter had begun to play in the life of the soldier. Hundreds of similar documents were addressed to the troops and to the various bodies. The majority of the social workers at the front were college students. In Russia they

constituted a strong revolutionary element. Their intimate contact with the army was in itself educational. But the Zemstvos went further. They founded at the front schools to teach elementary subjects to the illiterate Russian soldier. These schools became very popular, and proved a great success wherever they were permitted to develop. They undoubtedly contributed to the democratization of the army and the closer understanding between the Russian liberal social forces and the military organization. The fighter thus became completely transformed through the humanitarian and civilizing influences exerted over him by the once-hated Russian democracy.

But the soldier was not alone in the world. He had a wife and children, or an aged mother and father, perhaps in the very region where the German hordes were sweeping toward the east. The military authorities often ordered the evacuation of a whole province, containing hundreds of thousands of inhabitants, in twenty-four or forty-eight hours. The peasantry were compelled to abandon their homesteads, and, driving their live stock before them, move from the military zone. Thus streams of ruined families began to form that flood of refugees

which was to inundate the entire country. After the Teutonic invasion in the summer of 1915 this inundation developed to proportions unparalleled in human history. From the Baltic to the Black Sea an enormous current of impoverished, desolate, hungry, disease-afflicted men, women, and children of all ages and classes advanced eastward. The number of these unfortunate refugees was estimated as high as thirteen million. The total was beyond doubt not less than ten million. What such a vast vagrant population in ordinary times would mean to a country can well be imagined. It certainly would tax all the resources of such a fully organized and efficient government as Germany's or Great Britain's. The problems of relief, of distribution, of housing, of rehabilitation presented by such a nomadic population were colossal. To meet this situation in Russia there was a collapsed government. The terrific losses on the fields of battle incident to the greatest military defeat in history were sufficient to keep a governmental machine going at top speed. But the Czar's Government was not fit even for that. Unable to stem the tide of the aggressive foe, unable to think and plan and prepare on extraordinary scales, hampered

by traitors in its councils and by corruption in all its departments, the Government of the bureaucracy presented a miserable sight in the second autumn of the Great War. The army was shattered to its very foundations. The foe considered Russia *hors de combat*. And no recuperation was really possible for the Slavic empire under the control of the bureaucracy. But the Prussians and the entire world, which adopted their view, were ignorant of one factor —social Russia.

Imagine a nation whose governmental system collapsed in the midst of an unprecedented war; imagine its army dejected, tired, defeated, and greatly diminished in numbers; and further imagine oceans of destitute, starving, and ruined human beings drifting aimlessly and helplessly along the country's roads. Then think in the midst of this bleak and hopeless picture of a suddenly arrived savior! This savior was social Russia. The spirit of democracy would not be broken by the dismal failures of the bureaucracy. Its failures only put new life and vigor into the democratic forces. New opportunities were opened for them to attack the old régime as well as to show their ability and fitness to govern the nation. Thus it hap-

pened that Russia's great disaster proved of immense benefit to its future. While the governmental machine lay prostrate, a wave of fiery enthusiasm swept the nation. At the moment of the greatest defeat, when the bureaucracy was ready to quit, the Russian democracy arose, determined to continue the fight against Prussianism. Social Russia picked up the torn thread of the Government's activities. Bureaucracy meekly submitted to this momentous step. The Zemstvos and other social bodies took over many of the duties of the War Department. While bureaucrats of the old school still remained at the head of the entire Government, the War Ministry presented an anomalous contrast. General Polivanoff, the War Minister appointed as successor to the disgraced General Sukhomlinov, was an efficient and patriotic soldier who appreciated the Zemstvos' aid to the army. He was only too glad to have the Zemstvos co-operate in the reorganization of the military arm of the nation. This interesting situation later developed into one of the big factors responsible for the revolution.

The country was not ready to shake off the autocratic Government in the fall of 1915. The bureaucracy retained the helm of the state.

But the bureaucracy had no vigor left. The democracy took charge of the military work, not officially, but actually. By the time democracy had built up the nation, bureaucracy had gathered strength. Then the most puzzling, to the outside world, phase of the Russian situation developed. The Government persecuted the forces co-operating with one of its departments. The War Ministry was with social Russia, while the Government was against it.

The winter of 1915–16 found social Russia actually dominating the nation's life. This life was divided into two categories, the front and the rear. At the rear were the millions of refugees spreading all over Russia. They had to be taken care of. While the Government contributed to their relief, it was social Russia, the thousands of committees and organizations throughout the vast empire, that bore the brunt of the work. And leading all these organizations were, of course, the Zemstvos. The peasants who drove their cattle with them because they could not sell them were relieved of their burden at equitable prices. The thousands of orphans were gathered in and sheltered by the social bodies. Food and clothing were distributed among the needy. Information bureaus were

established for the purpose of finding lost relatives. Legal and medical aid was furnished free to the refugees. And hundreds of thousands of these wanderers were settled for good with the aid of the Unions of Zemstvos and of Towns in the interior provinces of Russia and Siberia. Altogether the permanent settlers from among the refugees numbered several million. And almost all of them to some degree had received aid from the social bodies.

When one considers that a large portion of the army at the front was originally recruited from this floating refugee population, the conclusions as to social Russia's effect on this portion are obvious. The beloved families of hundreds of thousands of soldiers had been ruined and set adrift without any sound justification by the incompetent and inhuman authorities. This in itself was enough to incense part of the army against the Government. Exposed to the ravages of disease, poverty, and severe weather, their relatives got succor from whom? From the Russian democracy. The mind of the Russian soldier could not but be affected by this plain fact. His heart began to turn from his former masters to the people and their leaders.

But there was also a purely military reason for the army's transformation, and that was its defeats because of bureaucracy's failures. When the Russians were trapped by Hindenburg in the Masurian Lakes in the fall of 1914, suffering enormous losses, it was not the fault of the rank and file, nor was it the genius of Hindenburg that was responsible for the severe defeat. It was due to the treason of a member of the Russian General Staff, Colonel Myasoyedov, who delivered the Russian army to the enemy for gold.

Myasoyedov was an extreme reactionary, and in close touch with the Government at Petrograd. When he was caught and executed by order of the Commander-in-Chief, Grand-Duke Nicholas, it was an indictment not only of him as a Russian army officer, but of the whole bureaucratic Government.

General Sukhomlinov, the War Minister, who stood at the head of the War Department at the time of the great collapse of the Russian army in Poland during the spring and summer of 1915, was later arrested on charges of having accepted bribes to leave the army unprepared, and of having had relations with traitors. As a friend of Myasoyedov, the War Minister had

furnished the latter with military secrets which were transmitted to the Germans.

Answering an anti-Semitic attack in the Duma against Jewish would-be traitors, Shingarev, one of the leading Cadets, said:

"I do not know whether there were traitors at the front among the Jews, but I maintain that the enormous number of victims which the Russian people have lost through the fault of the Russian Minister of War, those hundreds of thousands of unfortunate heroes who have perished through the fault of this criminal man, fell by a Russian hand."

The Sukhomlinov incident alone was enough to convert hundreds of thousands of soldiers into revolutionaries. But when the popular Commander-in-Chief was retired to the Caucasus because of his hostile attitude toward the traitorous reactionaries in control of the Government, the army began to realize that it was saddled with a system which sought and worked for defeat instead of victory. And no army likes to be defeated. It does not like it especially when it is convinced that in fighting qualities it is the equal of the enemy, and that with proper support it would never meet with reverses. Such is the feeling of the Russian

soldier. When he was forced to meet the onslaughts of terrific artillery bombardments with his bare breast he began to think. In the summer of 1915 there were cases of Russian soldiers fighting with sticks against their Teuton foes. The complete breakdown of the commissariat, along with the other elements, created deep discontent. And social Russia, which hastened to help reorganize the army, became to the soldier the element which by virtue of its fitness should have headed the Government. The rank and file of the army were converted to the cause of democracy through social Russia's constructive activities as well as by bureaucracy's destructive activities.

The Zemstvos began to aid the army militarily. Munition-factories were built with their help. Their efficient representatives in Europe, Japan, and America purchased large quantities of munitions and other necessary materials. What Lloyd George did in Great Britain, what Albert Thomas did in France, the Zemstvos began to do in Russia. The industrial resources of the nation were mobilized for the purpose of rehabilitating the army and supplying it with all necessities. A special social body—the War Industries Committee—was formed in Petro-

grad. This body represented the commercial and manufacturing elements of Russian society. At the head of this committee stood Alexander Gutchkov, an ex-president of the Duma. Its activities were confined exclusively to the husbanding of the country's industrial resources for the purpose of a more intensive and successful prosecution of the war. With the cooperation of the rest of social Russia, the committee soon began to create a new backbone for the army. The latter felt the inflow of fresh blood into its veins. The spiritual and the material support of the entire nation was behind the army. And the entire nation was now a body led by a united progressive representation at the Duma, inspired by the close bond with democratic France and Great Britain, disgusted with bureaucracy as never before, and bent upon fighting Prussianism till it was defeated. The army was beginning to reciprocate the nation's attitude toward it. The ferment of democracy was firmly planted in the soldier's soul. The rotten bureaucracy, on one hand, and social Russia's great constructive work on the other, had thus radically transformed the political and military life of Russia, laying the foundation for the wonderful overthrow of Czarism.

VII

THE RULE OF GOREMYKIN

AT the head of the Russian Government at the outbreak of the war stood Ivan L. Goremykin, a bureaucrat of the old school, who served under four Czars. His reputation as a reactionary was established. As Assistant Minister under Durnovo, a notorious tchinovnik, Goremykin in the last decade of the nineteenth century inscribed his name in Russian history as a foe of progressive thought and reform. He was first to extend the censor's jurisdiction over the advertising columns of the newspapers. He promulgated so many restrictions for the purpose of gagging the press that Russian public opinion found itself almost without a voice. He was appointed to the Imperial Council on his sixtieth birthday, in 1899, but his career was not ended as yet. In 1906, after Count Witte's resignation, he was called to head the Cabinet. During his Premier-

ship the first Duma met. That radical body sought to make Russia a real Constitutional Monarchy. But the reactionary Prime Minister would not even hear of the Duma's demands for reform and liberty. After a spectacular and stormy session the first Russian parliament was dissolved. Goremykin was retired soon afterward. Democratic Russia thought that the old functionary's political life was now closed. But early in 1914, after the dismissal of Premier Kokovtsov, the seventy-five-year-old Goremykin was again placed at the helm of the Government.

The immediate effect in Russia of the outbreak of the Great War was a union between the democracy and the Government. Goremykin and his opponents co-operated in the prosecution of the war. Naturally, the popular elements expected gradual concessions on the part of the Government as a natural outcome of their common labor. But Goremykin never intended to grant reforms. The big issues of the war did not concern him. To him it was not a war between two ideas and institutions in the life of mankind. It was one of those habitual wars which are being waged in our world at almost regular intervals. There was,

therefore, no need for any change in the traditional policy of the Government.

The persecution of the Jews was perhaps the most revolting manifestation of this policy. The Jews have always been the scapegoat of the Russian Government. During the winter of 1914–15 the bureaucracy used the Jews to screen their own sins. The provinces where the battlegrounds lay were inhabited by millions of Jews. The military authorities treated them with utter inhumanity. But the civil authorities went even further. They incited to pogroms and massacres. They spread reports and rumors to the effect that the Jews were traitors and were responsible for Russia's defeats. This method was tried by the bureaucracy during the Russo-Japanese War, also to divert popular attention from the real authors of the nation's misfortunes. The army and the police perpetrated acts of violence on the Polish and Lithuanian Jews that were unparalleled in their savagery and cruelty. The result of this campaign was a quick revulsion of the country's attitude toward the Government. Russian public opinion was much provoked by the anti-Semitic activities of the Goremykin Ministry, as shown by the following speech

made by Deputy Shingarev in the Duma in the course of an interpellation of the Government on the Jewish persecutions:

A Jew cannot give an education to his child, cannot see his own mother, and a mother cannot come to a wounded, crippled soldier-son in Petrograd. A man who died on the field of battle, by his death deprived his children of the right to live in the city in which he had lived. There is no horror, there is no abomination, no outrage which this Government has not practised upon the Jews. And this degradation has been going on for decades, and after that you slander a whole nationality without any ground.

The improvement of Russian life is possible only when you will heal this wound, this ill of our Government life, and will grant rights to nationalities and equality of rights. But there are people who feed on discord, who, like parasites, live on it. Without discord they cannot live. We know that in times of peace they persecuted the Jews, and in war-time they began to persecute the Germans. They persecuted the Poles; they persecuted all whom it was possible to persecute. For this subsidies are given. This is encouraged. Those parasites live on the blood, on the sweat of the people. They thrive on the ills and wounds of the people. They spread slander and create discord.

You know to what degree of moral decay have come the protégés of the Russian governmental authorities. One is ashamed to read a newspaper. One is pained to see our Russian rule. One is ashamed of the Russian Government. But who are those protégés? Are they Jews? They came out of their own ranks, they are their favorites, they are their comrades. Did the Russian Army remain in Galicia without ammunition because of the Jews? Did it remain without care when going back to unprepared positions because of the Jews? Did it

suffer all that agony and all those horrors and consequences which awaited them there because of the Jews? . . . I don't know whether there were traitors among the Jews, but I do know that to our deep sorrow there are traitors among our own nation, and that this refuse of our nation is an extremely disgusting phenomenon. The former Minister of War, Sukhomlinoff, some time before the war ordered the army to subscribe to *Zemstchina* [a rabid reactionary journal]. He who enjoyed the confidence of the Government and stood at the head of the War Ministry has proved to have been in some relations with traitors, to have accepted bribes, and not to have prepared the Russian Army.

And Myasoyedov—the former gendarme, the pillar of reaction and the servant of the Government? He, too, was a traitor and a spy, tried for treason and treachery. He, too, was a Russian. And General Grigoryeff, who surrendered the Kovno fortress, he, too, was a Russian.

Another thing which exasperated the Russian people was the Government's treatment of the Ruthenians. The latter, inhabiting Galicia, are Little Russians, or Ukrainians. They looked to the coming of the Russians as their deliverance from bondage. Austria was suppressing their culture and nationalistic tendencies. The great Slavic nation, they thought, would bring them freedom and opportunity. But they were sadly mistaken. The Government of Goremykin, immediately after the Russian occupation of Galicia, despatched there a typical staff of Russian tchinovniks, narrow-minded, petty,

reactionary, and ignorant of local conditions. They proceeded to make the Ruthenians into Russians with the characteristic methods of Czarism. They abolished the Little Russian dialect in the schools and substituted Russian. They used force to obliterate the Ukrainian culture. The result of these activities was a storm of indignation against the Government on the part of the Russian democracy.

Even more provoking was the attitude of Goremykin's Cabinet toward Poland. When the Commander-in-Chief, Grand-Duke Nicholas, issued his historic manifesto promising the Poles reunion and autonomy, both the Polish and Russian peoples were profoundly stirred. It seemed as if the Government, after all, was making some concessions to the spirit of the time. But it was only a misapprehension. The manifesto of the Commander-in-Chief was really never supported by the Government. On the other hand, the latter was very much opposed to it. When Count Wielopolsky came to thank the Czar in the name of Poland for the Grand-Duke's proclamation, he read to the Emperor a prepared document pointing out an equitable solution of the Polish problem. A copy of this paper had been sent to the

Emperor. The Count, therefore, expected him to be acquainted with the subject. But he was not, for the document had never reached the Czar.

Count Wielopolsky then asked the Emperor if he would receive a Polish deputation. Nicholas II. answered affirmatively, adding, "Arrange with the Minister of the Court, Baron Fredericks, about the day and the hour." The deputation was selected, some of the members coming from a distance for the purpose. Then the Minister of the Interior, Maklakov, an extreme reactionary, interfered. The moment, he declared, was not opportune for such an occasion. "I have given those Poles a lesson," he said to his friends, "that will teach them not to try to get access to the Emperor another time without first consulting the Ministers."

Such were the policies of the Government that threatened to split its union with the democracy born of the Great War. A small group of reactionary bureaucrats and functionaries saw the imminence of the rise of a powerful democratic tide as early as the fall of 1914. They presented a note to the Czar in which attention was drawn to the possibility of a revolution, and they urged a separate peace

with the Central Powers. The nation was alarmed by this act. Moscow was first to express its apprehension in a message to the Czar. Many other communities followed. The Emperor answered with a reassuring declaration. Still the reptile press close to the Minister of the Interior, who believed with the signers of the note in the necessity of a separate peace, kept on criticizing the Allies. Especially was Great Britain attacked in the reactionary sheets. Anglophobia was fostered by them openly and with the evident encouragement of the authorities. At the same time they continued their customary denunciation of all that was progressive and liberal in the country.

An episode which inflamed public opinion greatly was the treatment of Vladimir Burtsev, the noted revolutionist, by the Government. He lived as a political refugee in Paris at the beginning of the war. His sentiments were ardently pro-Ally. He was happy to see Russia fight together with France and England against Prussianism. The feeling of exaltation which seized almost all Russians at the outbreak of the great struggle gripped Burtsev also. He therefore decided to go back to his native land, in spite of the fact that he was a political runa-

way, expecting his war views to save him from arrest. But the police were ordered to arrest him as soon as he crossed into Russia. While his trial, which was watched by the whole country, was approaching, five Socialist members of the Duma were arrested and subsequently exiled to Siberia. Burtsev was also condemned to exile. Thus did the Government treat a man who came to help it prosecute the war.

At about the same time the clamor that the Duma be convened was satisfied and the preliminary sessions of the Budget Committee were attracting national attention. Paul Miliukov, the leader of the Constitutional Democrats, criticized the Government's retrograde policies. And still, in spite of the obvious gulf that was daily growing between the Government and the democracy, the fiction of a united Russia was maintained by the bureaucracy. At a banquet given by Premier Goremykin, where the leaders of the Duma were present, toasts were drunk to the bond that held popular and bureaucratic Russia together. As a matter of fact, that bond had even then ceased to exist because of the Cabinet's policies. Still the Government made an effort to persuade its opponents that all was well.

The following session of the Duma, however, dispelled all illusions as to the continued support of the Government by the public. This support was undermined by the Ministers' activities. The discontent in the nation found its expression in the Duma. The opposition was intensified when the Russian armies began to crumble before the terrific onslaughts of the Teuton drive of 1915. The failure of War Minister Sukhomlinov to supply the army with ammunition in spite of a reassuring statement he had made to the Duma's Military Committee some time previous resulted in universal hostility toward the Government. Under the pressure of public opinion several Ministers were retired. War Minister Sukhomlinov gave way to General Polivanov. The hated Minister of Justice, Stcheglovitov, was dismissed in favor of Senator A. A. Khvostov. Minister of the Interior Maklakov was replaced by Prince Stcherbatov. V. K. Sabler, the reactionary Procurator of the Holy Synod, was substituted by A. D. Samarin. As President of the Imperial Council was appointed A. N. Kulomzhin.

These changes were the beginning of that constant but meaningless shuffling of Ministers which was a considerable factor in bringing

about the revolution. The new appointees did not signify a change of policy in the Government, but a desire to tide over a crisis which was growing acute. The rapidly rising cost of living, accompanied with the suffering incident to the military disasters, produced riots in Moscow, Petrograd, Baku, and other cities. Tens of millions of dollars' worth of property were destroyed in Moscow, while in Petrograd and Baku merchants were attacked, their stores looted, and the copper and silver coins found hidden there seized. This sudden lack of small coin, which manifested itself during 1915, caused a real crisis for a while. The copper and silver coins disappeared from circulation as the tradesmen hid all the coins that they could get. The result was that when one wanted to buy ten cents' worth of food, for instance, one had to pay a dollar bill, as he had no change and as the seller professed to have none. This condition was the result of general fear of the state's financial collapse.

In August, 1915, the idea of a united majority in the Duma first originated in Russia. The conservative fourth Duma was already full of opponents of the Goremykin rule. These opponents, representing various shades of opinion,

constituted a majority. The big task was to unite them on the same platform against the existing Cabinet. For several weeks negotiations and deliberations among the various groups and factions of the opposition went on, finally resulting in the establishment of the famous Progressive Bloc. At first there were signs that the Bloc's program (outlined in Chapter V) would be partly, at least, carried out by the Government, avoiding all conflict with the Duma. As a matter of fact, few people realized at the time the meaning of the fourth Duma's rebirth. It was taken for granted that the demands presented by a body which only a year previous supported the Government would be conceded gradually by the Emperor. Such a process would undoubtedly have satisfied the majority of the people. But Goremykin took alarm when he became acquainted with the Bloc's program. His Cabinet was divided on the issue. Minister of the Interior Prince Stcherbatov, Minister of Agriculture A. V. Krivoshein, Minister of Communications S. Rukhlov, the Comptroller of the State, Kharitonov, and the Procurator of the Holy Synod, A. Samarin, were willing to meet the Duma half-way. Premier Goremykin,

however, was adamant against even discussing the program. He hurried to the Emperor to get his signature to a decree proroguing the Duma. In this he succeeded. The effect on the country was naturally disquieting. Riots and strikes broke out here and there. But the progressive leaders appealed to the masses to control their passions and to postpone the day of reckoning.

How far the change in the nation in the direction of the opposition progressed was indicated by the elections to the Imperial Council. The electors were universities and business institutions. The progressives won everywhere. In spite of this, Goremykin continued his repressive measures. The Ministers who favored a *rapprochement* with the Duma were one by one retired. The Duma session scheduled for November 14, 1915, was postponed. The dissatisfaction of the masses reached a high pitch. Talk of revolution was in the air. The approaching winter held out few bright promises to the nation. The millions of refugees, the collapsed army, the growing food crisis, the treason in high military circles, the dark and portentous rumors, the petty reactionism of Goremykin, the suspension of the Duma's session, all these elements created an

oppressive atmosphere. The leaders of public opinion exerted all their energies to restrain the popular discontent. Exhortations were addressed to all parties and classes by their respective chiefs. The Socialist leaders drew up a remarkable document, stating their position and the reasons why the labor class should sacrifice its aims and even ordinary comforts in the interests of a successful prosecution of the war against Prussianism. This manifesto, which follows, had a tremendous effect on revolutionary Russia:

We, the undersigned, belong to the different shades of Russian Socialistic thought. We differ in many things, but we firmly agree in that the defeat of Russia in her struggle with Germany would mean her defeat in her struggle for freedom, and we think that, guided by this conviction, our adherents in Russia must come together for a common service to their people in the hour of the grave danger it is now facing.

We address ourselves to the politically conscious working-men, peasants, artisans, clerks—to all of them who earn their bread in the sweat of their brow, and who, suffering from the lack of means and want of political rights, are struggling for a better future, for themselves, for their children and for their brethren.

We are sending them our hearty greeting, and persistently ask them: Listen to us in this fatal time, when the enemy, having conquered the western strongholds of Russia, occupied an important part of her territory, and menaces Kief, Petrograd, and Moscow, these most important centers of our social life.

It happened before to our country—to suffer from the bloody horrors of a hostile invasion. But never before did it have to defend itself against an enemy so well armed, so skilfully organized, so carefully prepared for his plundering enterprise as he is now.

The position of the country is dangerous to the highest degree; therefore upon all of you, upon all the politically conscious children of the working people of Russia, lies an enormous responsibility.

"If you will say to yourselves that it is immaterial to you and to your less developed brothers as to who will win in this great international collision going on now, and if you will act accordingly, Russia will be crushed by Germany. And when Russia will be crushed by Germany it will fare badly with the Allies. This does not need any demonstration.

But if, on the contrary, you will hold the conviction that the defeat of Russia will reflect badly upon the interests of her working population, and if you will help the self-defense of our country with all your forces, our country and her allies will escape the terrible danger menacing them.

Therefore, go deeply into the situation. You will make a great mistake if you will imagine that the working people do not need to defend our country. In reality, nobody's interests suffer more terribly from the invasion of an enemy than the interests of the working population.

Take, for instance, the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71. When the Germans had besieged Paris and the prices on all stuffs of first necessity had risen there enormously it was clear that the poor suffered much more from it than the rich. In the same way, when Germany exacted five milliards of contribution from vanquished France this sum, in the final count, was paid by the poor; for paying that contribution, indirect taxation was greatly raised, the burden of which nearly entirely falls upon the lower classes.

More than that. The most dangerous consequence to

France, due to her defeat in 1870–71, was the retardation of her economic development. In other words, the defeat of France badly reflected upon the contemporary history of her people, and, even more, upon her entire subsequent development.

The defeat of Russia by Germany will much more injure our people than the defeat of France injured the French people. The war causes now an incredibly large expenditure. It is more difficult for Russia, a country economically backward, to bear that expenditure than for the wealthy states of western Europe. The back of Russia, even before the war, was burdened with a heavy state loan. Now, this debt is growing by the hours, and vast regions of Russia are subject to wholesale devastation.

If the Germans will win the final victory, they will demand of us an enormous contribution, in comparison with which the streams of gold that poured into victorious Germany from vanquished France, after the war of 1871, will seem a mere trifle.

But that will not be all. The most consequent and frank heralds of German imperialism are saying even now that it is necessary to exact from Russia the cession of important territory, which should be cleared from the present population for the greater convenience of German settlers. Never before have plunderers, dreaming of spoiling a conquered people, displayed such cynical heartlessness!

But for our vanquishers it will not be enough to exact an unheard-of enormous contribution and tear up our western borderlands. Already, in 1904, Russia, being in a difficult situation, was obliged to conclude with Germany a commercial treaty very disadvantageous to herself. The treaty hindered at the same time the development of our agriculture and the progress of our industries. It affected, with equal disadvantage, the interests of the farmers as well as those engaged in industries. It is easy to imagine what kind of a treaty victorious German imperialism would impose upon us. In economic matters,

Russia would become a German colony. Russia's further economic development would be greatly hindered, if not stopped. The farmers, forced out of their country homes by stress, will face the possibility of finding themselves piteous tramps. Degeneration and deprivation would be the result of German victory to an important part of the Russian working people.

What will German victory bring to western Europe? After all we have already said it is needless to expatiate on how many unmerited economic calamities it will bring to the working population of the western countries allied to Russia. We wish to draw attention to the following: England, France, even Belgium and Italy, are in a political sense far ahead of the German Empire, which has not as yet grown up to a parliamentary régime. German victory over those countries would be the victory of the old over the new, and if the democratic ideal is dear to you, you must wish success to our western allies.

Indifference to the issue of this war would be for us equal to a political suicide. The most important, the most vital interests of the proletariat and of the farming population demand of you an active participation in the defense of the country. . . . Your watchword must be victory over the foreign enemy. In an active trend toward such victory the live forces of the people will become free and strong.

Obedient to this watchword, you must be as subtle as serpents. Although in your hearts may burn the flame of noble indignation, in your heads must reign invariably cold, political reckoning. You must know that zeal without reason is sometimes worse than complete indifference. Every fit of agitation in the rear of the army, fighting against the enemy, would be equal in its meaning to high treason, as it would be a service to the foreign enemy.

The thunders of war certainly cannot make the Russian suppliers more disinterested than they were in the time of

peace, in the distribution of numerous orders, inevitable at the mobilization of the industry; gentlemen enterprisers will, as they are accustomed to, take great care of the interests of capital, but will not take care of the interests of hired labor. You will be entirely right by getting indignant at their conduct. But in all cases, whenever you may like to answer by a strike, you must first think if such action would not be detrimental to the cause of the defense of Russia.

The private must be subject to the general. The working-men of each factory must remember that they would commit, without any doubt, the greatest mistake, if, considering only their own interests, they forgot how severely the interests of the entire Russian proletariat and farming class would suffer from German victory.

The tactics which can be defined by the motto "All or nothing" are tactics of anarchy, fully unworthy of the conscious representatives of the proletariat and peasantry. The General Staff of the German army would greet with great pleasure the news that such tactics were adopted by us. Believe us that this staff is ready to help all who would like to preach it in our country. They want the troubles in Russia, they want strikes in England, they want everything that would facilitate the fulfilment of their conquering schemes.

But you will not make them rejoice. You will not forget the words of our great fabulist, "What an enemy advises is surely bad." You must insist that all your representatives take the most active part in all organizations created now under the pressure of public opinion for the struggle with the foreign foe. Your representatives must, if possible, take part not only in the work of the special technical organizations, such as the War Industries Committees, which have been created for the needs of the army, but as well in all other organizations of social and political character.

The situation is such that we cannot achieve freedom in any other way than the way of national defense.

While pressure was exerted on the masses not to rise, a determined effort was made to oust Goremykin. The President of the Duma, Rodzianko, addressed a bold letter to the senile Premier, holding him responsible for the grave condition in which the country found itself. "If, at your advanced age," wrote Rodzianko, "you no longer have the vigor necessary to deal with so difficult a situation, at least be man enough to vacate your post, and make way for another with more youth and energy on his side." The result of this letter was the resignation of Goremykin.

VIII

THE DARK FORCES

BEHIND the arena where the struggle between autocracy and democracy was being waged a mysterious figure began to make itself felt in the winter of 1915–16. About this figure clustered a group of silhouettes destined to go down in history under the designation of the "dark forces." Pregnant as the elements in the contest between the Russian bureaucracy and people were, it is doubtful if they would have led to revolution had it not been for these dark forces. It is certain that the old régime could have held out much longer had it only put up a clean fight. But Czarism was too corrupt, degenerate, and uncivilized for that. Essentially medieval in character, it suffered from all the vices of a monarchy of the Dark Ages. Superstition, prejudice, cowardice, and ignorance dominated and permeated it. In these circumstances it was very easy for a

religious impostor to gain access to the Court and become there a powerful influence. Such was the career of the man who was the leading figure of the dark forces. He became known as the monk Rasputin, and since his activities were closely knit with the fortunes of Russia during the fifteen months preceding the revolution, his remarkable story really forms a vital part of the history of Russia anteceding the overthrow of Czarism.

Gregory Novikh was born in the village of Pokrovsky, county of Tiumen, Siberia, in the year 1873. The son of a common muzhik, Gregory was absolutely uneducated and illiterate. It was only late in his life, when he became a power in the Court, that he learned to scrawl most ungrammatically and unintelligibly. His father was a fisherman, and he pursued at first the same occupation. He early showed himself to be a degenerate even in his native village. He acquired the reputation of a drunkard and a rogue. His disorderly behavior made him the outcast of the community. A number of times he was caught stealing, and punished by the village court. Even as late as 1917, the year of his death, there were still criminal charges standing

against him in the courts. His fellow-peasants nicknamed him Grishka, which is a contemptuous form of Gregory, and under this name he became widely known throughout the land. Cartoonists and feuilletonists made Grishka the subject of their productions, but did not dare to mention the name Rasputin, by which Novikh had become known. Rasputin means a rake, a libertine, a morally irresponsible person. Novikh was called Rasputin for his frivolous conduct, but he evidently liked the name so much that he adopted it instead of his original name. And under this new nickname he proceeded to build his amazing, almost stupefying career of an omnipotent power behind the throne.

There are in Russia thousands of wanderers who, under the disguise of holy pilgrims, collect alms for various so-called sacred purposes. These "pilgrims" are treated by the peasants as saints, and their word is accepted as inspired from above. In reality, most of these "saints" are rascals of first degree, indulging in horrible vices and appropriating all their collections for their own use. Some of them have in the past founded sects which were devoted to sensuous practices under the cloak of

religion. These sects have penetrated even some of the monasteries of the Orthodox Church, where immorality was practised in most abhorrent forms. It was with some such kind of a monastery that Gregory Rasputin first came in contact. After this Rasputin left his fisherman's job for an easier life. He became a professional pilgrim, collecting money for various holy enterprises, but appropriating it for his own use.

With his collections Rasputin established himself in his village as a well-to-do, pleasure-loving peasant, seeking especially the company of women. He married and became the father of a boy and two girls. He built a large house, where three rooms were occupied by his family, while the remaining eight rooms were reserved for his "devotees" or mistresses. Under a religious cloak, conforming to certain teachings propounded by Rasputin, abominable things were practised there.

Rasputin's power over women seemed almost superhuman. From princesses to the humblest peasants, the fair sex succumbed to his influence. His neighbors complained to the authorities about his pursuits. He was severely beaten on several occasions. On his pilgrimages he fre-

quently encountered trouble because of his misconduct. In spite of all that, his reputation as a "saint" grew steadily, increasing especially after visits to the capital.

Women of noble birth, wives and daughters of the great, visited Rasputin in his village. He taught them that part of his body was divine, and that to be purged of sin it was necessary to unite with him spiritually and physically. It was astounding how popular Rasputin became in high feminine society. His despicable manners did not seem to offend the titled aristocrats who invited him to their homes. Influential officials later sought his company at the expense of his abominable liberties with their wives or daughters. Like an animal, he ate with his fingers and his disciples would often lick them clean at his command. The men among his followers were mostly seekers for high offices, who would sacrifice almost anything to ingratiate themselves with the muzhik who was becoming a powerful influence behind the throne.

"The fascination of the man lay altogether in his eyes," wrote a newspaper correspondent. Otherwise he looked simply a common muzhik, with no beauty to distinguish him; a sturdy

rogue, overgrown with a forest of dirty, unkempt hair, dirty in person (dirt is holiness in some countries), and disgusting in habits. His language oscillated between the stock-in-trade odds and ends of Scripture and mystic writ and the foulest vocabulary of Russian, which of all white men's tongues is the most powerful in the expression of love and affection and of abominable abuse. But the eyes of this satyr were remarkable—cold, steely gray, with that very rare power of expanding and contracting the pupils at will regardless of the amount of light present. He possessed without doubt the very strong natural hypnotic powers which seem always to go with that peculiarity. It was this that in the first place differentiated Grishka Rasputin from the hundreds of other "holy" rascals of erotic type known to history and in daily life in that unfathomable land of Russia.

To the Court Rasputin was introduced in 1905 as the creator of a new religious cult. The monk soon acquired tremendous influence over the Czar and the Czarina. His influence over the Empress was greatly enhanced by his pretensions to wield a miraculous power over the well-being of the Grand-Duke Alexis, the heir to the Russian throne. The Grand-Duke was

suffering from an illness which was declared incurable by some of the leading physicians of Europe. Rasputin had a close colleague and friend in Madame Virubova, the favorite lady-in-waiting to the Czarina. In order to prove his divine power, Rasputin would leave the Court occasionally, his departure always being accompanied by the apparent sinking of the Grand-Duke's health. The secret of this effect on the young Alexis was only disclosed after the revolution. Madame Virubova would mix a harmful powder in the Grand-Duke's food during the absence of Rasputin. The Czarina, the Czar, and all those who came in contact with the Court were unable to explain the strange phenomena in the condition of the ill Alexis. The only explanation was that Rasputin was possessed of some occult power. It was but natural for the Czarina, under the circumstances, to have implicit faith in the holiness of the impostor. Rasputin became a member of the Czar's household. He came and went whenever he pleased. The Imperial Guard, responsible for the safety of the royal family, was also held responsible for the well-being of Gregory. His influence grew to such an extent that he began to inter-

fere with the affairs of the Church. When, for instance, a friend of his was condemned by the Holy Synod to exile in a remote monastery, Rasputin intervened in his behalf, with the result that an imperial ukase was issued ordering the Synod to reconvene and nullify its own decision. This was perhaps the first case of its kind in modern Russian history. No crime was punishable if the criminal could only win Rasputin's favor. Decisions of Governors, Ministers, high Church dignitaries were made void as if by magic. This continued, with intermissions, for several years. In 1912 Alexander Gutchkov, an Octobrist and therefore a monarchist, spoke of Rasputin from the tribune of the Duma as follows:

"You all know the oppressive drama which Russia is living through. With pain in our hearts, with horror we follow its climaxes. In the center of this drama is a mysterious tragi-comic figure, an apparition of the Dark Ages, a weird figure in the light of the twentieth century. What were the means by which this individual reached his dominating position, exerting a power before which the highest dignitaries in the Government and the Church bow? . . . Behind him there is a whole band of charlatans,

who are buying his good graces and favors; greedy adventurers seeking power; dark speculators and bankrupt journalists. This enterprising company skilfully and cunningly plays its game. It is our duty to cry out that the Church is in danger and that the State is in danger. No revolutionary and anti-Church propaganda could accomplish as much as this sinister coalition."

All-powerful Prime Ministers tried to get rid of the pernicious monk, but met with no success. The crafty Siberian muzhik surrounded himself with a number of political charlatans and functionaries who paid their respects to him in order to win his good-will. Not long before the beginning of the Great War Premier Kokovtsov succeeded in having Rasputin banished from the Court. But through the influence of his friend Virubova and others he was returned. Kokovtsov was retired with remarkable promptness. The Assistant Minister of the Interior, head of the Imperial Police, Dzhunkovsky, once knocked Rasputin down for his rough and impudent behavior toward him. Dzhunkovsky was immediately dismissed. The Procurator of the Holy Synod, Samarin, showed a disposition toward purging

the Orthodox Church of the sinister influences permeating it. He was retired very soon after his appointment. Perhaps the Czar himself would have dispensed with Rasputin, but to the Czarina the monk became the very soul of existence. She really believed that he was a saint, a divine missionary sent to save her son. She would listen to no stories about him, considering them all inventions of enemies due to jealousy of his high position. Rasputin persuaded the Czarina that in case of his being killed her only son, the Grand-Duke Alexis, would also expire. It became a byword in Russian high spheres that "better have one Rasputin than ten fits of hysteria." These words were once uttered by the Czar. For the Czarina would become hysterical as soon as the monk was threatened with removal from the Court.

Thus it came to pass that a morally degenerate Siberian peasant wielded the power of an emperor in Russia. His whims, however petulant and fanciful, would be satisfied. But up to the end of 1915 Rasputin never used his vast influence in the molding of Russia's internal and foreign policies. Swindlers would get all they wanted through him for adequate com-

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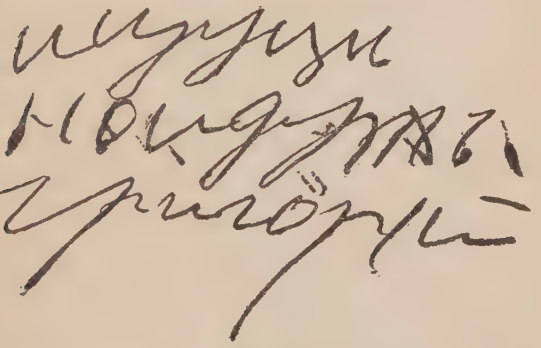
RASPUTIN AND A GROUP OF ADMIRERS

Seated, left to right, the Czar's oldest daughter, the Czarina, Rasputin, and Madame Virubova. Seated at Rasputin's feet is evidently one of his daughters. The bearded man behind Madame Virubova is a quack physician who aided her in drugging the Czarevitch to further Rasputin's influence over the Czarina. On page 123 is Rasputin's autograph, signed "Gregory."

pensation. Tchinovniks would receive high appointments, bishops would be elevated and their enemies degraded through his machinations. But the general life of the country was



THEY WHO SEEK SHALL FIND

left alone by the crafty impostor. That was why the Russian people regarded him only with amusement up to the outbreak of the war. They felt that he was but another proof of the imbecility of Czarism. With the passing away of the old order Rasputin would become impossible. They never dreamed that this monk was destined to stage the greatest tragedy in the life of the Russian nation.

The Russian autocracy and part of the bureaucracy, to whom the interests of absolut-

ism were above those of patriotism, realized soon after Russia entered the Great War that it was a war for democracy. To fight Prussianism, they soon perceived, meant to fight Czarism. The war had given powerful impetus to the democratic forces of the country. Its continuation and victorious conclusion spelled nothing but the doom of absolutism in Russia and in Europe. The defeat of Russia, or the victory of the Central Powers, therefore became essential in the eyes of the reactionary bureaucrats and Court functionaries. There were not many of these. The larger part of the bureaucracy stood for victory and the crushing of Prussianism. But the Teutonic Russians in the Czar's Court, together with a hundred or so of the most extreme reactionary and Black Hundreds leaders, began to advocate a separate peace for Russia. This movement had gained no momentum before the end of the summer of 1915. It was only after the terrible military disasters in Poland and Lithuania that the separate-peace group commenced to show signs of activity. And who but Rasputin could have served them as a tool in their sinister schemes? Rasputin was closer to the Czar and Czarina than any of them. It was only nec-

essary to convert him to the idea of a separate peace in order to get control of the Government reins. How this was accomplished does not really matter. Rasputin may have been bribed by the pro-German plotters or he may have been honestly convinced that the interests of the country demanded the conclusion of a separate peace with Germany. The fact is that Rasputin did come to work for the Germanophile elements. He found in the Czarina a willing convert, as she was, before her marriage, a German princess. Rasputin therefore changed his traditional policy. He began to use his enormous influence in matters of vital importance to the Russian people as well as to the entire human race. It was at this stage of the war that the great drama of Russian life, the struggle between Czarism and democracy, began to assume a sharply defined form. On one hand were the pro-German dark forces; on the other, liberal, progressive, and enlightened Russia.

The leading figures associated with Rasputin were the Petrograd Metropolitan, Pitirim, the chief dignitary of the Orthodox Church, and Manasevitch-Manuilov, a swindler of international reputation, whose part in the events

leading up to the Russian revolution was by no means inconsiderable.

The "king of swindlers" is the term with which the Russian press characterized Manuilov. His past certainly warrants such a description. As far back as 1895 he was commandeered by the police department to Paris to act as a spy on the notorious Ratchkovsky. The latter, it will be recalled, was the head of the Russian secret service in France, whose activities were wholly devoted to espionage work in connection with the Russian revolutionary movement.

Next Manuilov was sent to Rome to watch for the Catholic priests arriving from Russia to the Pope. He established connections with some individuals close to the Vatican, and demanded enormous sums from the Russian Government as rewards to his informants. In reality, however, he pocketed the money himself, giving the agents little remuneration. The latter, convinced that the fabulous sums promised by Manuilov for their work would never be paid to them, raised such a public scandal that Manuilov had to be recalled.

One of his most brilliant acts was perpetrated during the Russo-Japanese War. He got hold

of the key to a Japanese secret code, which enabled him to furnish the Russian Government some very valuable information. The Japanese authorities, however, soon discovered that their code was known in Russia, and changed it. Manuilov, facing the loss of large sums of money, which he received in return for his Japanese despatches, continued to supply the Russian Government with false information fabricated by himself. He did this till the conclusion of the war, going sometimes as far as photographing pages of a Chinese dictionary and substituting them for the would-be Japanese documents.

When this was discovered by the authorities it seemed that Manuilov's career would be ended quickly by a military court. But here Rasputin's influence interfered. Manuilov and Rasputin were already friends. The latter was even then, in 1906, a power in the Court. The result was that Manuilov for his criminal activities was punished only with dismissal from the service of the state.

Manuilov then began exploiting his connection with the Court for all kinds of illegal and dark purposes. He openly boasted to all those who came in contact with him that he occupied

a very high secret post in the Government, that all the Ministers were at his service, that he was a frequent visitor in Tsarskoye Selo (the Czar's residence), and that for a "decent" reward he could obtain anything.

His fame soon spread far and wide. Tchinovniks who wanted promotion paid secret visits to him. Criminals condemned for participation in pogroms came to him to seek pardon from the Czar. All kinds of speculators and mysterious agents did their work through him. Jews who sought right of residence paid Manuilov huge sums for it. Men who wanted to escape military service came to seek his aid.

Manuilov's connections were so powerful that he was in a position to obtain everything he wanted. His clients were therefore satisfied. He would divide the large bribes he received from them with high tchinovniks. Some Cabinet Ministers were his collaborators. He always dominated the latter, as they knew of his connection with Rasputin. The good-will of Rasputin was, of course, necessary to the security of their positions.

The reports of Manuilov's activities finally grew so much in volume as to develop into a public scandal. Rumors of the illegal transac-

tions of some of the highest officers in the Government filled the air. They reached Stolypin, the Premier. He ordered a secret investigation of the whole affair. When the full report of Manuilov's busy career was laid before the powerful Prime Minister he affixed to it the following terse order, "It is time to finish this rascal."

But the all-powerful Stolypin, the man who suppressed with his iron hand the Russian revolution, was not strong enough to "finish" Manuilov. He ordered the judicial authorities to take up the case. As a result of the investigation that followed it became known that the case of Manuilov involved two Assistant Ministers, the head of the secret service, General Gerasimovitch, some officers of the Czar's bodyguard, and others. Rasputin's influence was exerted in their behalf. An imperial decree was issued which put an end to the prosecution of Manuilov started by Stolypin.

A close collaborator of Rasputin and Madame Virubova was General Voyeykov, commandant of the Imperial Headquarters. General Voyeykov was bitterly assailed in the Duma by Deputy Purishkevitch. The answer of the Czar to this criticism was not the dismissal of

the General, but a rescript full of flattery and thanks for his services.

On the same day an Imperial rescript was addressed to Pitirim, in which the Emperor eulogized the noble virtues of that dark prelate. Both documents were issued on the anniversary of the Czar's name day, in 1916, when all Russia expected a decree granting reforms, and produced an exasperating effect.

The story of the ring of the dark figures around the Emperor would not be complete without the name of Baron Fredericks, Minister of the Court. A Baltic German, Baron Fredericks was a Prussian junker to the very core. Perhaps no other single personality was responsible for the course of the career of Nicholas II. to such an extent as Baron Fredericks. He accompanied the Emperor everywhere and wielded tremendous influence over him. Narrow-minded, rigid, petty, tyrannical, and characteristically Teutonic, Baron Fredericks was essentially opposed to any progress, reformation, and freedom.

It happened more than once that a Minister took to the Emperor a project for reform. The Emperor would approve of the measure. After the Minister left the Czar would tell of it to

Baron Fredericks. The latter would seize his own head and cry out in horror, "What did you do?" Whereupon the Czar would get frightened, imagining that his reform would undermine his throne, and revoke his decision.

Nicholas II., who was born in 1868, was not endowed by nature with the talents necessary to successfully rule such an empire as Russia. He was short in stature, nervous, weak-willed, and of a cowardly disposition. His elaborate education did not enhance his low virility. In addition, he suffered from the effects of a wound inflicted on his head by a Japanese during his journey in the Far East in 1891, when he was still a Czarevitch.

Nicholas II. began his reign with a statement that marked him as an extreme autocrat. A deputation of Zemstvo leaders from the province of Tver went to ask the young Czar for reforms. His reply was that they should drop those "foolish dreams." But his initiative in organizing a conference at The Hague for the creation of a basis for international peace, as well as his democratic behavior in the early days of his reign, gave him the reputation of a progressive. In reality, however, he was a despot to the last fiber of his constitution.

"In every fold of this little man's royal mantle there is the autocrat," said the Grand Duchess Maria Pavlova, referring to Nicholas II. These words, uttered soon after his ascension to the throne, proved true. Petty and shrewd, with the elementary craftiness of the muzhik, Nicholas II. was also jealous and cynical.

His Ministers were nonentities not only because of his inability to choose big men, but because he disliked strong personalities. His hatred for Stolypin, the powerful Prime Minister who crushed the revolutionary movement of 1905–06, was common knowledge. The assassination of Stolypin was even connected in some quarters with this feeling of the Emperor toward him.

His hatred for Count Witte was also notorious. Its origin was a scene in the Czar's house on the eve of October 30, 1905, when the country had been paralyzed by a general strike and a revolution seemed imminent. Premier Witte went to urge the Czar to grant reforms. Nicholas II. was obstinate. Count Witte, in the presence of the Czarina, made it appear that he was hysterical, and stamped his feet on the floor in an attempt to cow the Czar into

signing the famous manifesto of October 30th. Nicholas II., frightened, gave in. But later he revoked almost all the liberties granted, dismissing Witte.

"He held on to his throne as if in delirium and with a fanatical obstinacy," wrote a Russian correspondent after the revolution, "as if trembling for his life, with which he identified his authority. His system was the complicated system of distrust of all. . . . The sphere of his mental activity was, of course, very limited. He knew that it was necessary to command. He knew that in no case must one make concessions unless absolutely forced by circumstances. His obduracy during the last days was, however, equivalent to sheer insanity."

Such was the man in whose hands the fortunes of one hundred and eighty million people lay. A moral imbecile, a dark and crafty Church dignitary, a typical junker, and an international swindler surrounded him, controlling the destinies of Russia, Europe, the world. Around this invidious force of destruction there centered the agents of Prussia, the rabid reactionaries of the Czar's Court, and a number of office-seekers and adventurers. This dark force set out to undermine the foundations

of democratic Russia, to stab the Allies in the back by concluding a separate peace with Germany, to deal a mortal blow to the cause of universal democracy by establishing an alliance of monarchical, absolutist Europe.

IX

WORKING FOR PRUSSIANISM

ONE evening in the eighties of the nineteenth century a man was trudging along a Petrograd street. He was deeply engrossed in his thoughts, undoubtedly dreaming of a raise in salary or promotion in rank, for he was only a petty Government tchinovnik. In his preoccupation he stepped off the sidewalk in front of a carriage bearing the Imperial emblem. He was knocked down and injured. The royal passenger was a woman. She took pity on the bruised young man, had him placed in the carriage and brought to the palace to dress his wounds. This accident made of a petty official a future Prime Minister. The name of the man was Boris Sturmer, who was the grandson of an Austrian Teuton.

Sturmer was quick to grasp the opportunity of the accident. He managed to win the good graces of the Imperial lady and to become her favorite. As a reward for his services he was

ennobled, endowed with a wife and given the title of Kammerjunker. Later he was promoted to the Ministry of the Imperial Household, where he gradually climbed to the grade of Hofmeister. Afterward he was appointed Governor of Tver, where his political career reached what then seemed to be its zenith.

The dark forces launched, early in 1916, the disastrous campaign that precipitated the revolution. After the dismissal of Goremykin, which took place under the pressure of public opinion, Boris Sturmer was appointed as his successor. He was called by the Czar to head the Government in the difficult winter of 1916, in spite of the fact that he had not been active in public life for more than a decade. Russia had almost forgotten that such a personality still existed in bureaucratic circles. His name belonged to a long-past period of Russian history, to the days anteceding the revolution of 1905. Sturmer had made himself notorious as a collaborator of Plehve, who had shackled Russian democracy as no Minister of the Czar ever did. Sturmer was one of his lieutenants. He was used by him in the destructive campaign waged by the Russian Government early in this century against the Zemstvos, Russia's

great educational institutions. As Governor of the province of Tver, Sturmer enacted a series of outrageous measures against the liberal and enlightened Zemstvo of that province. After 1904, when his chief, Plehve, was assassinated by the revolutionists, Sturmer's career was to all appearances ended. In the tempestuous twelve years that followed, perhaps the most turbulent in the entire course of modern Russian history, Sturmer had taken no part whatever in the country's official life. Like many other reactionary tchinovniks, he was attached to the Court circle which constituted that invisible but powerful *camarilla* which molded the destinies and policies of the great Slavic nation.

To appoint Sturmer Prime Minister in the trying days of an unprecedented world crisis was in itself a challenge to the Russian democracy. A man of narrow and selfish views, incapable of understanding the psychology of men and nations, unfit for coping with large problems, he also lacked the vision necessary for the head of the Government. "I have known Sturmer for thirty years," wrote a European publicist, "and always considered him intellectually and morally a poor creature whose highest ideal was a successful career and

whose horizon was circumscribed by the walls of his Ministry." Such was the individual whom the *camarilla* had nominated for Premier. His name was another disturbing feature about him. Its Teutonic derivation was enough to irritate the Russian public, to whom anything that sounded or looked like German was obnoxious. The masses hailed his rise with a flood of rumors as to his connection with Prussia and his views on a separate peace. A story that made the rounds of Petrograd in 1916 had it that two men in a railway carriage argued about the regulation making it an offense to speak German in public places. One of the two men declared that he could speak that language with impunity. The other threatened to have him arrested in case he did. "Well," said the first, "I will speak three connected German words and no one will dare touch me." The second challenged him to do so. "All right," said the first, "now please listen carefully—'Hofmeister von Sturmer.'" Though his ancestors were of Teuton stock, Sturmer himself was a typical Russian bureaucrat of the old régime. There could be no doubt that in common with the other extreme reactionaries in the Court he looked with dis-

favor on Russia's aligning herself with the democratic nations of Europe as against the absolutist Germany and Austria. There was ground for the belief that Sturmer was a direct protégé of Rasputin, and his subsequent actions warranted such an assumption. His initial step as Premier, however, was to counteract the hostile reception accorded him by the people. He announced a speedy convocation of the Duma, which had been prorogued by his predecessor. For a moment the tide of popular dissatisfaction caused by his appointment was checked. It was thought that the Sturmer of yore was no more; that the long years of democratic progress had had an effect on him. In reality it was nothing of the kind. The attitude toward the Duma was evidently nothing but a shrewd act on the part of the dark forces intended to mislead the country and the world.

The first shock that came to the Russian public with the rise of Sturmer was his employment of Manasevitch-Manuilov, the international swindler, as his private secretary. Another close adviser of the new Premier was Gurliand, one of the dark personalities in the annals of Russian life for the last three decades.

A tool of reactionism, a traitor to his Jewish race and to the cause of democracy, Gurliand had affiliated himself with all that was pernicious and destructive in the Russian Government. Gurliand, who was a highly educated man, was more exasperating to the Russian democracy than an ordinary ignorant tchinovnik. With Manuilov on one hand and Gurliand on the other, Sturmer's début in the capacity of director of Russia's national affairs could produce but one impression on the mind of the people. While democracy was striving with all its primitive ardor to save the country from disintegration and disgraceful defeat at the hands of Prussian militarism, bureaucracy had sent forward its worst and darkest representatives to control the helm of the Government. A spectacular fight ensued between the two birds of prey, Manuilov and Gurliand. The latter lost the battle, being forced to content himself with the post of chief of the Government's press bureau and news agency. The former began to conduct his notorious operations which were to become historic in the critical twelve months that followed.

The fields of activity of Sturmer and his associates were of two kinds: first, there were

the international relations; second, the internal situation. His policies in both realms were of a provoking and disquieting nature. To the former class belonged steps taken, or supposed to have been taken, by the Government toward an understanding with the Central Powers and the conclusion of a separate peace. From the mass of reports and rumors which filled the world during 1916 on this subject certain facts stood out as indisputable. First, there was the mission of Princess Wasiltchikova, who came from Austria to Russia in the early weeks of 1916. The princess belonged to the inner circles of the Court, being close to the Czarina and her favorite lady in waiting, Madame Virubova, Rasputin's agent in Court. Of Rasputin's belief that Russia should terminate the war as early as possible there was not a shadow of doubt. Of Rasputin's tremendous influence over the Czarina there was again no doubt whatsoever. That the Empress was doing everything in her power to bring about a separate peace was certain. The journey of Princess Wasiltchikova from Austria undoubtedly was encouraged by the group centering about Rasputin and the Czarina. The princess was exposed and in her possession were found in-

criminating documents, one of which was a list of Russian bureaucrats friendly toward Germany and favoring a separate peace.

After this abortive attempt, secret Russian envoys were despatched to Switzerland to get in touch with Teuton representatives. How far these secret negotiations went it was difficult to say. But in so far as they affected Russian public opinion they could not have proceeded any further. The nation plainly demonstrated to the dark forces that any effort to conclude a separate peace would result in the immediate overthrow of the Government. There was an elemental force in that popular attitude which frightened the cowardly bureaucracy.

"Sturmer is a traitor," a correspondent overheard a common Russian say on a train. "He has just concluded a separate peace with Germany; a draft of it is already in Berlin."

To which a soldier with a crutch remarked, "It won't matter if he did, since a few of us will just march back on Petrograd, settle things there, and then go on with Germany's business."

Such was the typical view of the Russian soldier, worker, politician, or intellectual. This meant that potentially Russia had been trans-

formed already, that the democracy had gathered into its ranks nearly all classes of Russians. It was dangerous for the dark forces to endeavor to conclude a separate peace against the national will. That alone was something new in Russian life. Up to the war the national will was never considered by the bureaucracy. It was ignored, disregarded, and sneered at by the reactionaries. Russia to them was an absolute monarchy. The will of the autocracy and not the will of the people made Russian history. But the war created forces in Russian life which compelled the autocratic system to recognize the will of the people. It is difficult to state with accuracy the exact moment of this recognition, which marked a new epoch in the existence of Russia. The Government was in the hands of the old clique, but it was forced to modify its traditional attitude toward the democracy. The steadily increasing power of the latter augured little good for the medieval camarilla. It felt the advent of a new era; in despair it sought to sever relations with France and England and create a basis for a *rapprochement* with autocratic Germany and Austria. Treaties, promises, and sacred bonds meant nothing to this sinister group. Nothing would have pre-

vented it from stabbing Russia's allies in the back through a separate peace. There was one power only that stood in the path of the consummation of such a policy, and that was the potential colossus of the Russian democracy.

The dark forces, therefore, directed most of their activities toward striking at this democracy. Finding themselves unable to work for Prussianism through diplomacy, they began to promote the cause of a separate peace through the creation of internal conditions that would lead to the same end. The Sturmer Ministry inaugurated a series of acts each of which was calculated to disorganize the nation and break its power of resistance and its mighty democratic spirit. First to suffer was the press, the organ of the country's public opinion. It had been gagged and muzzled to an extent undreamed of even in Russia by Premier Goremykin. Sturmer continued this policy. The military censorship was used for the suppression of news and comment which had no relation whatsoever to military conditions. Blank spaces filled the Russian papers day after day. Every Governor or local official exercised the powers of a dictator over the newspapers. Petrograd periodicals were forbidden to pub-

lish news which was printed in Moscow or Odessa, and *vice versa*. The Government's treatment of the press became so outrageous that the Duma was forced to take a determined stand on the question, demanding more freedom for the expression of public opinion. At the same time the two or three Black Hundred yellow sheets, openly pro-German, were allowed to develop their pernicious propaganda. On the face of it the Ministers seemed to respect the press. Every new Minister upon his appointment would grant an interview to the representatives of the country's newspapers, promising reforms and improvement, but in actuality these promises were never carried out. Even utterances of leading deputies in the Duma were partly or wholly barred from print.

The muzzling of the press was only the forerunner of a treacherous campaign against social Russia. The nation's social organizations were co-operating with the War Ministry in supplying materials and aid to the army. Little by little the social bodies were rehabilitating the shattered military organizations of the country. It became evident to the dark forces that Russia was fast becoming ready to deliver a powerful blow at the Central Powers, and this

they did not want to see. They aimed at Russia's defeat as the only guarantee for the preservation of their power. To make Russia unfit for fighting became the goal of the dark forces. In order to accomplish this it was essential to paralyze the activities of social Russia. This the traitorous Government set out to do. Early in the spring of 1916 the Cabinet issued an order forbidding any kind of national conventions or conferences of the country's social organizations. The Unions of Zemstvos and of Towns and the War Industries Committee, which contributed to the army most of its fighting ability, were all affected by this order. Since the entire nation was behind these bodies, it was but natural that a wave of rebellion seized all classes and institutions. The pretext for the Government's action was declared to be the would-be revolutionary activities of the social organizations, but it was nothing more than a flimsy excuse, for in the ranks of these organizations was also enlisted all that was conservative and patriotic in Russia. The leader of the extreme reactionaries in the Duma, once the notorious chief of the Black Hundreds, Vladimir Purishkevitch, was one of these social workers at the front. To accuse him of revolu-

tionism was to make him a bitter opponent of the Government. This was just what happened. He was only typical of the thousands and hundreds of thousands of Russians who became enemies of the Government, although their views before the war were very moderate, believing and upholding the autocratic institution with all their heart and energy.

When Prince Lvov, the head of the All-Russian Union of Zemstvos, appealed to the War Minister, General Shuvaiev, to recall the ban on national conventions, he met a sympathetic attitude on the part of the Minister, but he could obtain no action on the part of the Sturmer Government. A remarkable situation developed. The head of the War Department, appreciating the aid of social Russia to the army, did his best to co-operate with the nation's efforts in the cause of national defense. On the other hand, the head of the whole Government did his best to paralyze these very efforts. Every now and then the War Minister would place with the Zemstvos large orders. Prince Lvov would call his attention to the fact that the Government could hardly expect the social organizations whose activities it shackled and blocked to execute the orders. Still the Govern-

ment continued its policy of deliberate injury to the cause of the country's defense. The next step in this direction was the putting of all meetings of the public bodies under the supervision of the police. Such an act was an outrage in itself. The inept and corrupt Russian police were put in charge of vast organizations, whose sole activities were devoted to the interests of the state, with the power to put an end to all meetings and conferences even of a local character. The army and the people recognized that Sturmer was helping Prussia to win the war.

Sturmer, shortly after his accession to the Premiership, also became Minister of the Interior. His predecessor, A. A. Khvostov, served only a few months, but helped considerably to increase the national *débâcle*. A man of little ability but much vanity, a bureaucrat of the old school, Khvostov took up his duties as Minister of the Interior with much noise and bombast. He evidently sincerely believed himself to be fully capable of solving the many hard problems confronting the nation. His motto was "Down with German influences." He was a reactionary, but a patriot, and he meant what he said. But he was unaware of

whom his program aimed at. He was soon to realize that the German influences in Russia were located in a place over which he could have no control. The all-powerful Rasputin was in his path. Khvostov saw the menace and decided to remove it. As Minister of the Interior he had control of the police and secret service departments. He therefore set himself to the task of "removing" Rasputin. He delegated an agent by the name of Rzhevsky to go to Copenhagen, where a former friend of Rasputin, the so-called "mad monk" Iliodor, lived. The latter was now a bitter enemy of his former colleague. He was urged to come to Russia and participate in a plot to assassinate the omnipotent monk. Iliodor is alleged to have consented to the proposition of Rzhevsky, at first, but later repented and communicated the details of the scheme to Rasputin. At the same time the wife of Rzhevsky told the whole story to a friend, who carried it to Assistant-Minister S. P. Beletzky. The latter wished to force out his chief, Khvostov, and win the favor of Rasputin, who had already been notified of the plot. He had Rzhevsky arrested upon his return from Scandinavia. A sharp battle developed between Khvostov and his assistant. At first the latter

was "exiled" to Siberia, as the Governor of a province, after an investigation, instituted by Sturmer at the instigation of Rasputin. Later Khvostov himself was dismissed. Beletzky, who had not left for Siberia as yet, was also dismissed. In the course of this scandal it developed that the Metropolitan of Petrograd, Pitirim, was an active member of the *camarilla.*

Such was the result of a Minister of the Interior's attempt to get rid of Rasputin. The latter triumphed completely. The country watched this disgraceful scene in Government circles with nothing short of stupefaction. Sturmer took over the post of Khvostov, which afforded his secretary, Manuilov, additional opportunity for swindling and blackmailing. His office became the Mecca of the sharks and speculators responsible to a large extent for the disorganization of the country's food supplies. Contrabandists and traders with the enemy found immunity from the law through Manuilov. German agents were flocking to Russia in large numbers. Sturmer's private secretary was the man who received, protected, and helped them, in return for German gold, to infuse more chaos into the national organizations. Unparalleled events were taking place.

The very top of the Government became a nest of graft, treason, and open robbery. When the Director of the Police Department, General Klimovitch, called Sturmer's attention to his secretary's activities and to the necessity of his removal, Sturmer at first assented. On the following day, however, he called up Klimovitch and ordered him not to touch Manuilov. Shortly afterward General Klimovitch was dismissed, but almost immediately he was returned to his post by the newly appointed Minister of the Interior, A. A. Khvostov.

The latter had been Minister of Justice in the Cabinet. His place was taken by the reactionary A. A. Makarov. Another change in the Cabinet was that of the dismissal of the progressive Minister of Agriculture, A. N. Naumov, who had succeeded in winning the favor of the Duma and the people. His successor, Count Bobrynsky, occupied the post only a short time. He was succeeded by A. Rittich, who at first made the appearance of attacking the food problem with considerable energy. In the Ministry of Finance there were also several shifts. Comptroller of the State Kharitonov was retired and followed by N. M. Pokrovsky, who later became Foreign Min-

ister. In the Holy Synod, the Procurator, who was a Cabinet member, A. D. Samarin, was dismissed in favor of A. N. Volzhin, who in turn was succeeded by N. P. Raiev. In the War Ministry General Polivanov was replaced by General Shuvaiev in the spring of 1916. All these changes in the Government were meaningless as far as its policy was concerned. The new appointees were all bureaucrats of the old school. Most of them had not been in public life for years. They were all inexperienced and incapable of solving the complicated problems that confronted the country. It was evident that the only purpose of the numerous shifts was to demoralize the national organism. After a Minister had made a sincere effort toward the solution of a certain question he would be dismissed, and his successor would begin all over again.

The heaviest blow to the Russian people and the Allies was the retirement of S. D. Sazonov, Minister for Foreign Affairs. So long as Sazonov remained in the Cabinet, all rumors of a separate peace were to a certain extent discounted. The stanchest supporter of the Entente cause in Russia, a close friend of Great Britain, Sazonov, typified to the Russian de-

mocracy the bond that existed between Russia and the Allies. There could be no doubt of the fact that Sazonov was the chief obstacle in the path of the dark forces toward the attainment of their goal. To remove him was their object for months. He was the only member of the Cabinet who was instrumental in the origination of the alliance with England. His influence on the Czar was considerable. Sturmer and Rasputin found in him an opponent dangerous to their schemes. His intimate relations with the British and French embassies in Petrograd enabled the Allies to know of all the dark machinations in the Czar's Court. To force Sazonov out meant a triumph of the invisible *camarilla* over the people. But the shock to the democracy was greater yet when it was announced that Premier Sturmer had taken over the post of Sazonov. The nation became alarmed to an extent unprecedented since the rise of Sturmer to power. The Premier had no experience and no relation whatsoever to foreign affairs. His appointment was a slap at the Allies. It spelled the increasing influence in the Court of the dark forces. It further intensified the state of excitement which pervaded the country.

Another irritating factor was the Polish problem. Early in the war, Grand-Duke Nicholas, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian armies, issued a manifesto promising the restoration of Poland. But the political authorities disregarded the army's proclamation. They proceeded to oppress and persecute the Poles as of old. When in the summer of 1916 the Polish question became the subject of universal discussion, the Russian democracy urged the Government to issue some kind of an official document on the promised autonomy to Poland. These exhortations were redoubled when it became known that the Central Powers were preparing some kind of a diplomatic stroke in connection with the future reconstruction of Poland. The Russian people wanted to forestall any action on the part of the Teutons. But the Russian Government did not. Sturmer and his clique, in the old-fashioned style so characteristic of the Russian bureaucracy, perverted the original promise of Grand-Duke Nicholas. When early in July the Council of Ministers held a meeting at the Czar's headquarters, where the Polish question came up for discussion, several projects granting autonomy to Poland in a larger or less degree were

submitted as solutions, but Sturmer favored no such settlement of the matter. Instead of independence or autonomy he merely proposed to grant Poland limited local self-government. And even this proposal was not acted upon definitely. Shortly afterward the Central Powers announced the establishment of a Polish kingdom. The chagrin of popular Russia at its Government's inaction was profound. The ineptitude and rottenness of the Government were demonstrated once more in an unmistakable manner.

On top of it all was the disorganization of the food supply of the country. Russia had plenty of food, and still starvation was staring Russians in the face. There were many causes for this condition. There was the demoralization of the transportation facilities. There were the needs of the army. There were the speculators and the corrupt tchinovniks. But, above all, there was the lack of a centralized and honest control of the situation. The Government empowered special officials to requisition, first of all, supplies for the army. These officials had it in their power to put a ban on the exports of food from one province to another. Besides, the Governors of the provinces and

their local representatives exercised the authority of Czars in their individual districts. Russia became a country governed by hundreds of separate autocrats. A province containing fifty million bushels of grain would be barred from selling its reserves on the ground that the army might need them. As a matter of fact, the province's contribution to the army later would turn out to be only one-tenth of its supplies. Such cases were numerous throughout the empire. To add to the chaos there were the rising prices. The peasantry was reluctant to sell its bread, hoping to sell it for still higher profits. The disorganization in the transportation facilities only intensified the crisis. Thus on one occasion over 2,800,000 pounds of meat were brought to Moscow in putrid condition because it had been on its way not less than thirty days in ordinary closed trucks. On another occasion a vast number of carcasses were being transported from Siberia, but on the way they were partly plundered by dishonest officials, partly perished through putrefaction, and had to be buried in the ground alongside the railway line, and partly devoured by dogs.

But even more disastrous proved the ac-

tivities of certain financial interests. The latter simply bought up enormous quantities of food and stored them till such a time when the prices would net them vast incomes. In this they had the protection of the Government. Sturmer's secretary, Manuilov, secured them immunity from the law for remuneration. The speculators then ran riot. While the masses were groaning under the yoke of terribly inflated prices, millions of tons of food were rotting in storehouses. It happened more than once that putrid meat in large quantities would suddenly appear in the market where a day before meat was an unknown article. Perhaps no other factor was as potent in solidifying the nation against the Government as this famine created through its corruptness and incompetence. The Cossack as well as the civilian, the Government clerk along with the common laborer, faced starvation. The cry of the people was increasing in volume and vigor. The Government made an unsuccessful attempt to solve the difficulties by fixing the prices. But this only tended to keep the independent farmer from marketing his goods. The authorities were also compelled to deal severely with the speculators. Many

arrests were made in Petrograd, Moscow, and other leading cities. In the capital a number of bankers who also traded in contraband were seized, in spite of the fact that Manuilov, the collaborator of Rasputin and secretary of the Premier, was their protector. For a while it seemed that the food situation would be straightened out. It looked as if the arrests of the crooked manipulators would check the confusion. But in reality such could not be the case. For the cause of all the trouble lay in the dark forces, which controlled the Government and labored for chaos and ultimate internal collapse. And these forces would not be checked. They were on the aggressive. Sturmer alone was not sufficient for them. To attain their destructive aims they introduced into the Cabinet a personality who was destined to develop the tragedy of Russia to its climax. His name was Alexander Dmitrovitch Protopopov.

X

A TRAITOR TO DEMOCRACY

ALEXANDER D. PROTOPOPOV was a cloth manufacturer in the province of Simbirsk, and the owner of a large estate. Born in 1865, he received a military education and served in the cavalry up to 1890, when he resigned. He settled on his estate, devoting himself to business and social work. It was only in 1908 that Protopopov entered national politics. As an Octobrist, he was elected to the Duma in that year from Simbirsk. There was nothing about his personality to distinguish him from the many other manufacturers and land proprietors who largely composed the Octobrist party, which was a conservative body co-operating with the Government of the Czar. No one could have possibly forecast the fatal rôle which he was destined to play in the life of his country. He lacked the brilliancy, intellect, education, and idealism characteristic of the leaders of Russian liberalism. When the

Octobrist Duma majority became progressive after the outbreak of the war, forming the Progressive Bloc, Protopopov also shifted toward the Left. On numerous occasions he showed himself to be an advocate of reforms in the Government. Still it was by mere chance that he attained prominence. The junior vice-president of the Duma resigned, and quite unexpectedly Protopopov was proposed as a candidate.

There was no opposition. There was no reason for such opposition. The post belonged to an Octobrist and the standing of Protopopov in his party was good. He was elected vice-president of the Duma, thus reaching the position which later enabled him to become the leading figure in the crisis which shook Russia before the revolution.

In the summer of 1916 a Russian parliamentary delegation was despatched to visit England, France, and Italy. This delegation included some of the most illustrious members of the Duma. But Protopopov, by virtue of his official position, stood at the head of it. To Russia this meant little, as he was considered a negligible figure in the ranks of Russian democracy. To the world his official title meant

a great deal. The Duma and the people later regretted their original attitude toward Protopopov. He showed himself to be shrewd, cunning, and ambitious, endeavoring to make capital out of his trip at the head of the delegation. From Paris, London, and Rome his fame spread all over Europe. The German Government reached the conclusion that he was important enough to be communicated with in regard to the possibility of a separate peace with Russia. On his way back to Petrograd, in Stockholm, a representative of Berlin met him in conference. This meeting was responsible for the strange course of his career in the next few months. How this meeting came to take place became the subject of a controversy which lasted for more than half a year in the Russian press. It seemed definitely established that the initiative was taken by the German Government. The latter had its agents in Petrograd's financial circles. Protopopov was interested in several business institutions of the Russian capital. He was very popular in commercial circles. As later events have proved, some of his friends were trading with Germany. Protopopov claimed that the suggestion to meet a German representative was

first made to him by one Pollack, whom he met on his way back from England. On the other hand, Count Olsuffiev, of the Imperial Council and a member of the delegation, stated that the idea of the conversation originated with him. The German representative was one Warburg, a financial agent of Germany and the senior councilor of the German Embassy at Stockholm. Protopopov later explained the circumstances to the president of the Duma. He stated that the Russian consul at Stockholm, A. V. Nekhludov, had consented to the conversation with Warburg. But the Count denied any previous arrangement with Protopopov, claiming that he had been informed of the engagement only after it had been made. It became evident that there were two meetings instead of the one referred to by the vice-president of the Duma.

There was in Russia an organization called the Society of 1914, whose purpose was to weed out Prussian influence in the country. This society included in its membership some of the leading public men of the nation. It was enough for a prominent personality to be suspected of any relations with the enemy to be publicly branded by the society. Protopopov

was a member of it. When the news of his peace conversations in Stockholm reached Russia, the Society of 1914 took up the case for investigation. The entire country followed the proceedings with profound interest, especially after the investigation committee had recommended the "blacklisting" of Protopopov. He defended himself in the press, proving to the satisfaction of the president of the Duma, at least, that the conference had not been initiated by himself.

About this time the nation was suddenly treated to the most bewildering piece of news of the year. Protopopov was appointed Minister of the Interior. A member of the Progressive Bloc, which warred so bitterly against Sturmer, had been called to occupy one of the most important places in the Cabinet. For a moment it seemed that a new wind had begun to blow in the high spheres. It was thought that internal reforms were finally to be granted, that the press would be unmuzzled, the chaotic food problem solved, and the social organizations aided in their patriotic labor in the cause of national defense. Disillusionment was quick to follow. A little reflection was enough to convince one that Protopopov's rise was due not to his progressive views, but to some

sinister connections. It will be remembered that Manuilov, Sturmer's secretary, was in touch with Germany's business interests in Petrograd, the same interests which were probably responsible for the Stockholm meeting. Manuilov was evidently used by them for the purpose of getting Protopopov into the Cabinet. There could be no doubt of that, for there was no other connection between the Court and the vice-president of the Duma. Had the Czar suddenly decided to select a member of the Progressive Bloc for a ministerial post, he could have and undoubtedly would have chosen a more important and more reputable Deputy. Protopopov's candidacy was urged upon Sturmer by his secretary. Sturmer took the matter up with Rasputin. It is not unlikely that Manuilov himself introduced Protopopov to Rasputin. One thing is indisputable. Protopopov got his position in the Government through the monk. The two soon became fast friends. In this way one of the leaders of the Duma betrayed the Russian democracy. Identifying himself with the dark forces, the ambitious Simbirsk manufacturer opened the blackest chapter in the history of Russia under the old régime.

Entering upon the duties of Minister of the Interior, Protopopov was interviewed by a group of correspondents. The new Cabinet member was expected to outline his program, but he had none. He announced that as a subordinate member of the Government he was guided by the policies of the head, who was Sturmer. This announcement was equivalent to pouring a bucket of cold water on an excited individual. Internal conditions were rapidly culminating in a general crisis. Unrest was growing throughout the country. The food situation was becoming more and more confused. The army was getting restless on account of the Government's failure to support it with all its resources. Energetic action was required to check the rising tide of rebellion. What Protopopov promised was a continuation of the chaos introduced by Sturmer. Popular feeling was running so high that it was nearly impossible to control it. Especially was the nation exasperated by a typical quarrel between two Ministries. Originally it was the Ministry of Agriculture that was in charge of the food problem. Its head, Count Bobrynsky, was elaborating all kinds of schemes for the solution of the involved question. Practically none of

these schemes met with the approval of the people. When Protopopov assumed the post of Minister of the Interior he began to busy himself with the food situation. He proposed that a group of bankers buy up all the available food supplies of the country and take charge of their distribution. This proposition met with undisguised hostility. The financial interests with whom Protopopov did business were not known for their integrity or patriotism. To deliver the nation's vitals to those sinister speculators whose corrupt activities incensed the whole country was equal to paralyzing the nation completely. But Protopopov proceeded with his plans. Very soon his actions conflicted with those of Count Bobrynsky. He insisted most positively that the question of transferring the food problem from the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Agriculture to that of the Interior had been decided by the Government. On the other hand, Count Bobrynsky asserted that the question had not even been discussed in the Council of Ministers. The starving people were treated to a circus-like spectacle. There was chaos in the Government. Indecision ruled its policies. The country was evidently being driven to ruin by its management. For weeks

the squabble between the two Ministers continued, while the tension was increasing and discontent spreading.

Still the Government chiefs continued to add fuel to the developing conflagration. The food speculators arrested before Protopopov became Minister and held without bail were released by him. Some of these swindlers had made enormous fortunes by trading in contraband. The masses were under the impression that the food difficulties were entirely the result of crooked business. When the Minister of the Interior took this crooked business under his protection the people placed only one construction upon his act. It meant to them that the Government was in a conspiracy with the robbers, and it only further provoked popular emotion.

Another inflaming act of Protopopov was the secret appointment of General Kurlov to the post of Assistant Minister of the Interior. General Kurlov had inscribed some of the bloodiest pages into the history of Russia in the years following the revolution of 1905. When in charge of a punitive expedition, Kurlov left a trail of blood and war wherever he went. He ordered hundreds and thousands of intellectuals, Jews, and common peasants shot and

hanged. He was one of the main tools in the hands of the reactionaries in crushing all movements toward freedom. Appointed about 1910 to the post of Director of the Department of Police, Kurlov continued his destructive activities up to the fall of 1911, when Premier Stolypin was shot in the presence of the Czar at the Kiev theater. Kurlov at that time was in charge of the police arrangements of the Czar's journey, and was personally responsible for the Emperor's safety. The man who shot Stolypin was a secret-service agent. On the night of the murder Kurlov was indulging in an orgy in his hotel. As Stolypin was an enemy of Rasputin and Kurlov a friend of the latter, it was reported that the Police Director was aware of the scheduled assassination which was said to have been engineered by the monk. Kurlov escaped punishment, which alone was sufficient to prove his powerful connections. Protopopov had now restored Kurlov in the Government service, but only secretly. It had never happened before that a Minister was appointed without a record of the fact in the official organ of the Government. This was what Protopopov did. When, in his absence, Kurlov once signed a paper as Assistant Minister, the story leaked out and

amazed the nation. It demonstrated once more the hopelessness of Russia's condition under such men as Sturmer and Protopopov.

All these measures on the part of the dark forces were aimed at one goal, the demoralization of the national organism so as to render it unfit to achieve victory over Prussianism. The spirit of patriotism was dampened. The transportation facilities were disorganized, social work hampered, the press gagged, the people deliberately starved, all for the purpose of rendering Russia's democracy receptive to peace proposals. But democracy would not be misled. The Government then embarked upon a deliberate campaign of fomenting dissatisfaction with existing conditions among the labor classes. The idea was to create a sentiment for peace on the ground that the country's troubles were purely a product of the war and not of the efforts of the dark forces. The leaders of the Duma and those of the labor groups periodically addressed exhortations to the masses not to be deceived by the treasonable Government agitators. Mysterious leaflets were circulated in factories and shops calling for peace demonstrations on the part of the workers. It was an extraordinary situation, which was destined to

culminate in the great event—the revolution. The dark forces did not realize that they were playing with fire. They sowed rebellion so as to be justified in starting negotiations for a separate peace. Their efforts were fruitful. Rebellion was growing, but they did not understand its nature. They were preparing the elements responsible for their own destruction. When Sturmer was Minister of the Interior these activities first assumed an organized character. Under Protopopov they developed even further. The country was filled with all kinds of alarming rumors. Everybody was excited and nervous. The pent-up energy of exasperation was nearing the bursting-point. Popular indignation had to find a channel of expression. Sturmer, Protopopov, and their agents worked the country up to such a pitch of excitement that revolution seemed imminent. In fact, Moscow was full of rumors that Petrograd had revolted; Kharkov heard the same news about Moscow; and Petrograd was full of stories about rebellion in those cities. There was only one thing that kept the people from breaking out, and that was the expected meeting of the Duma on November 14, 1916. The nation waited in suspense for the voice of its parliament, in

which it put its trust and confidence to an extent and with a unanimity unequaled in Russian history.

XI

THE CRISIS

THE meeting of the Duma on November 14, 1916, marked the opening of the critical round in the great battle between democracy and Czarism. For a century the forces of freedom had fought the powers of autocracy. One by one the latter were seceding from their traditional position and joining the ranks of democracy. On several occasions the long contest seemed to reach a climax. The Crimean War, which demonstrated the utter failure of Czarism, generated a popular movement which was responsible for the liberation of the serfs and which came close to giving Russia a parliamentary form of government. The Russo-Japanese War, which again proved autocracy's ineptitude and corruption, produced a mighty revolutionary movement which gave Russia the Duma and brought her to the brink of liberty. Finally the Great War, which once for all branded the bureaucratic monarchy with the

stamp of ignominy and failure, was destined to free the Slavic nation from the shackles of Czarism.

It was a remarkable situation that the country presented on the opening of the Duma's session. On one side was a nation united as never before. On the other were several hundred bureaucrats, reactionaries, functionaries, and political adventurers who controlled the Government, pervaded the Court, and influenced the Czar himself. It was the unprecedented union of all the elements in the nation which was responsible for the force of the concerted attack upon the Government by the Duma. All factions and groups joined in it. The leaders of the Black Hundreds, who were instrumental in the origination of pogroms a short time before; the conservative landlords and capitalists; the moderate Octobrists; the liberal Constitutional Democrats; the radical Labor party, and the Socialists—all fused into one solid wall of opposition.

Never in the modern history of Russia was the tension so great as on November 14th. The nation held its breath. The country was already ripe for the revolution which broke out four months later. Had not the Duma met, it un-

doubtedly would have occurred then. But it would have been a far bloodier and more dangerous affair in November, 1916, than in March, 1917. For the four months which elapsed between the two dates showed that the cup of Russia's suffering was not filled at the beginning of that period. New trials were awaiting the martyred nation, trials that solidified the revolutionary ranks and fortified the revolutionary spirit to an extent unknown in the annals of history.

Michael Rodzianko, the moderate President of the Duma, who once supported the Government, opened the historic session with a speech in which the Government of Sturmer was criticized for its dubious policies. Rodzianko, a large landowner and a skilled parliamentarian, commanded the fullest respect and confidence of the conservative forces in the country. Before the Great War, he co-operated with the Czar's Cabinet in its reactionary legislation. No one could ever suspect Rodzianko of radicalism. It must indeed have been a serious situation if the President of the Duma came out against the Prime Minister. His restrained criticism, therefore, carried much more weight than the fiery denunciation of a radical leader.

"The Government must learn from us what the country needs," said Rodzianko. "In the course of a struggle and an exertion of national faculties, the spirit of the country must not be dampened by unnecessary restrictions. The Government must not follow a path different from the people. With the confidence of the nation it must head the social forces in the march toward victory over the enemy along the path that harmonizes with the aspirations of the people. There is no other path to be followed. Any deviation from it means delaying success and postponing victory. . . . In close union with our allies we wage the bloody conflict. . . . It is necessary to remember here that there is no discord among us. . . .

"There is no trick to which our enemy will not resort with the treacherous object of wrecking our alliance. In vain, however, are his efforts. In vain his hostile intrigues. Russia gave her word to fight in common with the Allies till complete and final victory is won. Russia will not betray her friends, and with contempt refuses any consideration of a separate peace. Russia will not be a traitor to those who are fighting side by side with her sons for a great and just cause."

Rodzianko's utterance was interrupted by thunderous outbursts of applause, especially when he alluded to the movement for a separate peace and the pro-German intrigues. Sturmer, who was present during the address of Rodzianko, left at its conclusion, while the Allied ambassadors received a tremendous ovation during the speech.

But the voice of the people was yet to be heard from the tribune of the Duma. And this voice arraigned Sturmer in a scathing manner for his pro-Germanism, demanding the resignation of the Cabinet and the appointment of a Ministry responsible to the Duma.

Leading the popular charge against the Government was Paul Miliukov, the brilliant leader of the Constitutional Democrats. In a historic speech, which was the main factor in the overthrow of the Prime Minister, Miliukov showed the favor with which the Teutons regarded Sturmer and the consternation caused in the Allied camp by his activities. Quoting German and Austrian newspapers, the speaker brought out the fact that the Central Powers regarded Sturmer as a member "of those circles which look on the war against Germany without particular enthusiasm"; that Sturmer's ap-

pointment to the Foreign Ministry was greeted in the Teutonic countries as the beginning of a new era in Russian politics, while the dismissal of Sazonov produced in the Entente countries an effect "such as would have been produced by a pogrom."

The crowning sensation of the speech, however, was a statement revealing Sturmer's connection with the blackmailing operations of his private secretary, Manasevitch-Manuilov. A few weeks before, Manuilov had been arrested on a charge of bribery. He informed the directors of a Petrograd bank that proceedings were being instituted against them by the Ministry of the Interior for alleged trading with the enemy. He offered to suppress the case through influential friends for a large consideration.

The representatives of the bank had special reasons to get even with the "dark forces," since the retired Minister of the Interior, A. N. Khvostov, was a brother of the president of the bank. A. N. Khvostov owed his dismissal to his plot to kill Rasputin, which was investigated and largely uncovered by Manuilov. The directors of the bank, therefore, accepted Manuilov's offer, handing over to him a large sum of money in marked bills.

A few minutes later Manuilov was arrested by the military authorities with the bribe in his possession. His release, however, followed soon after the arrest. The country was greatly exercised over the lawlessness of the Government. The name of Manuilov was on everybody's lips. Miliukov, in his famous speech, said, regarding Manuilov's liberation:

"Why was this gentleman arrested? That has been known long ago, and I shall be saying nothing new if I tell you what you already know, namely, that he was arrested for extorting bribes and that he was liberated because—that is also no secret—he told the examining magistrate that he shared the bribes with the President of the Council of Ministers."

"Miliukov's accusation could not have startled the Duma more," wrote a correspondent, "if it had been an exploding bomb. The writer was in the Chamber when the speech was delivered, and will never forget its effect upon the Deputies. It is indeed a rare thing in the annals of parliaments for the Prime Minister of a great power to be openly accused, from the tribune, of sharing in the depredations of a common blackmailer."

The nation was in a state of extreme ex-

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PAUL N. MILIUKOV, LEADER OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRATS AND FIRST FOREIGN MINISTER IN THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

citement, and the statement of Miliukov only further intensified popular indignation. Sturmer prohibited the publication of the speech, but hundreds of thousands of copies of it, printed by special societies, were circulated all over the country. The contest between the Duma and the Government reached a point where decisive action one way or the other was imperative. Some members of the Cabinet, among them Alexander Trepov, Minister of Communications, insisted that Sturmer start court proceedings against Miliukov for his accusation. The Premier, for obvious reasons, was reluctant to do it, but he was compelled to take steps in that direction.

Meanwhile, the Duma attacks against the Government shifted to the Right. A conservative leader, Shulgin, assailed the Cabinet with unparalleled violence. Vladimir Purishkevitch, a reactionary of reactionaries, delivered a crushing assault against the Sturmer-Protopopov combination and the dark forces behind them.

For a while the fate of Russia seemed to hang in the balance. Sturmer's position was desperate under the concerted attacks of the Duma. He, therefore, proposed to his Cabinet to dissolve the Duma. A majority of members

opposed this suggestion. Sturmer proceeded to execute it on his own initiative. He drew up a document to that effect, but needed the signature of the Czar to make it a law. But the Czar was at General Headquarters.

The Duma or Sturmer?—this was the issue. The two were incompatible. The victory of the latter would mean revolution. The triumph of the Duma would indicate the winning of the battle by the democracy. To achieve his purpose, Sturmer needed an audience with the Czar. But the Czar was in the midst of the army chiefs who were hostile to the dark forces. A short but tensely dramatic struggle occurred. Sturmer strained all his energies toward obtaining an audience with the Emperor. Such an audience would have meant the dissolution of the Duma.

At the critical moment there suddenly and unexpectedly appeared in the Duma the Ministers of War and Marine, General Shuvaiev and Admiral Grigorovitch. They announced that they had a statement to make. The representatives of the people held their breaths in suspense. The War Minister mounted the tribune and paid a tribute to the people's efforts in the cause of national defense, requesting the Duma's

and country's future co-operation in the work of equipping the army. The Minister of Marine reiterated General Shuvaiev's demand for co-operation between the Government and the Duma. The latter, perhaps, never witnessed such a scene as that which followed the two Ministers' speeches. A tremendous demonstration took place. Roditchev, the Duma's golden-tongued orator, arose and said:

"It has rarely happened at our sessions that the necessary word has been said unexpectedly and weightily at the opportune moment. The representatives of the army tell us that in accordance with the wish of the Emperor and the will of the people our army will fight until the end. And that is precisely what we want, that is precisely why we are sitting here."

The salient fact about the event was pointed by Paul Miliukov, when he declared to a newspaperman: "The War and Marine Ministers have declared themselves on the side of the Duma and the people. We, on our part, have said that the Duma is with the army and the people." The long-existing bond of understanding and mutual affection between the nation and the army thus became a formal union. This was the tremendous factor of all,

in the succeeding miraculous transformation of Russia.

The declarations of the War and Marine Ministers sealed the fate of Sturmer. While on his way to General Headquarters to urge the Emperor to dissolve the Duma, the Prime Minister was intercepted by a messenger from the Czar and a decree of dismissal handed to him. In shame he returned to Petrograd. "The Duma has won the first victory," said Adjemov, a leading deputy. "It is as yet a far cry to the satisfaction of all our demands. But it is the first time in the history of Russia's parliament that Government heads have openly given to it their moral support."

It was a clear-cut victory of the people and the army over the dark forces. But it was not a decisive victory. Sturmer was driven out. But the man appointed as his successor, Alexander Trepov, was not the kind of a Premier the Duma and the nation desired. They aimed at a Cabinet responsible to the Duma. Trepov was only a bureaucrat, although sincere in his effort to co-operate with parliament. As a member of Sturmer's Cabinet, in which he was Minister of Communications, he showed himself incompetent and incapable as the traditional

Russian tchinovnik. The transportation system of the empire under his rule reached a greater degree of demoralization than ever before.

Trepov's first appearance in the Duma as Premier was met with a hostile demonstration on the part of the extreme radicals. He tried to conciliate the nation by announcing that an agreement had been concluded in 1915 by the terms of which Russia was to get Constantinople. The majority of the Duma was tolerant toward Trepov because he was not affiliated with the dark forces. It was also known that the new Premier was making every effort to oust the obnoxious Minister of Interior Protopopov. When Sturmer fell it was taken for granted that Protopopov would go also. But as the days passed by and no announcement was made about Protopopov's retirement, it began to dawn upon the people that the dark forces were by no means broken. In fact, they rallied almost immediately after Sturmer's downfall, when Rasputin and the *camarilla* found themselves under fire from all directions. The "dark forces" henceforth became a familiar figure of speech in every Russian community as well as in foreign countries.

The month of December, 1916, witnessed

some of the tensest scenes in the contest between the democracy and the dark forces. Protopopov defied the Premier and the Duma. He became a favorite of the Court circle and with the aid of Rasputin practically controlled the Government. The Duma continued to attack the Prime Minister, ignoring the fact that the latter was helpless. The nation was momentarily awaiting the dismissal of Protopopov as the natural sequel to the fall of Sturmer. But soon the name of the retired Premier again began to be mentioned in connection with a Government post. There were rumors that he was to be appointed ambassador to a neutral country. What this meant was obvious. Sturmer was to negotiate for a separate peace. It was announced officially that he was attached to the Foreign Ministry. It is hard to describe the effect of such news on the nation within two or three weeks after the downfall of the Germanophile Prime Minister. The Duma continued its concerted attack on the dark forces, demanding a responsible Ministry. Even half of the extreme right, the most rabid monarchical faction in the Duma, joined the opposition. At the same time there occurred the most significant event in the evolution of Russian public opinion.

The Imperial Council, Russia's Upper Chamber, for the first time in its history, allied itself with the Duma by an overwhelming majority. The importance of this event could be realized only from a survey of the Council's status. The Council was the scrap-heap of the Czar's Government. Retired Premiers, Ministers, Governors and other high tchinovniks were appointed to the Council for life. Part of the members were elected by the country's business interests and by high educational institutions. Traditionally, the Imperial Council was the pillar of Czarism, the very embodiment of bureaucracy. No one could have imagined this body opposing the Government. But even the bureaucrats could not stand the machinations of the dark forces. Criticism of the Government grew so severe in the Council that it resembled a liberal organization rather than a congregation of bureaucrats. This criticism finally culminated in a resolution, passed by the Council, demanding, together with the Duma, a Government responsible to the legislative institutions. The stronghold of autocracy had thus joined the popular forces.

The peace offer of Germany made on December 12th, gave the feelings of the Duma and the

Council an opportunity for expression. That the dark forces favored the acceptance of the offer there was no doubt. But the Czar himself had on many occasions proved his loyalty to the Allies.

To pacify the nation, the newly appointed Foreign Minister, Pokrovsky, who represented the best type of bureaucrat, hurried to the Duma three days after the Teuton proposal was made to announce Russia's rejection of a "premature peace." Immediately after the Foreign Minister's declaration the Duma passed a resolution which contained the following declaration:

"Having heard the statement by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Duma unanimously favors a categorical refusal by the Allied Governments to enter, under present conditions, into any peace negotiations whatever." The Imperial Council adopted a similar resolution on December 19th, demonstrating the unanimity of the nation's opposition to the pro-German forces in the Court and the Government.

Meanwhile, the Minister of the Interior, Protopopov, continued his destructive activities. He muzzled the press more closely than ever. He personally directed the police de-

partment's traitorous work, such as sowing discontent among the masses by spreading mysterious leaflets calling for rebellion on the issue of peace. To succeed in this provocative work it was necessary to increase the suffering of the people and to disrupt the organic life of the country and the army. Protopopov's plan was to bring about by extreme suffering an uprising which would result in a clamor for peace. Such a clamor, it was calculated, would justify the Government in opening separate peace negotiations. There were reports in Russia that the agreement concluded among the Allies early in the war, binding each party not to make a separate peace, contained the stipulation on the part of Russia that in case of internal trouble she would be justified in such an act. What Protopopov was working for was, therefore, the creation of internal trouble.

But so long as the Unions of Zemstvos and of Towns and the other social organizations continued their patriotic and tireless efforts, a complete state of chaos could not be produced as the dark forces wished. Social Russia supplied the army and it also helped the interior to get along somehow in the distressing conditions created by the Government's deliberate cam-

paign of disorganization. Harassed and hampered as social Russia was, Protopopov went still further in his desire to restrict its industrial work. He prohibited altogether meetings of the Unions of Zemstvos and Towns. In Moscow the police dispersed such meetings.

No clearer proof of the purpose of Protopopov's policies was necessary. Demonstrations and riots resulted from the action of the police. Protopopov became known as the "most hated man in Russia," so intense was feeling against him. The prevailing state of mind was indicated by the resolution of the Congress of Nobility.

The Russian nobility, like the Imperial Council, was a centuries-old stronghold of conservatism. To move it to revolutionary sentiments it was necessary for the Czar's Government to go to the limit of maladministration. And to the limit it went, so far, indeed, that the Congress of Nobility which met in December joined the rest of the nation in a unanimous denunciation of the dark forces, and petitioned the Emperor to form a Government in conformity with the wishes of the people.

The Emperor remained deaf to all pleas and warnings. His mother had warned him re-

peatedly of the threatening danger. Grand-Duke Nicholas made persistent but vain efforts to acquaint the Czar with the actual condition of the country. Once he took to the Emperor a letter which he had written on the situation, and read it aloud to the sovereign and his wife. It was a direct warning of the approaching collapse and a plea for quick action. Nicholas II. was unmoved. Charging that Rasputin had become the real ruler of the empire, that Protopopov had been appointed through Rasputin's influence, that a clique of enemy spies and charlatans centered about the monk, the Grand-Duke flew into a rage at the Czar's indifference. When the Czarina's name was mentioned by the Grand-Duke she angrily snatched the letter from the Duke's hand and tore it to pieces. The Czar did not believe the stories of Rasputin's and the Czarina's pro-German machinations. Seventeen Grand-Dukes next addressed an appeal to the Czar to protect himself against the influence of his wife, who was under Rasputin's domination. But it was all in vain. "What has Alexandra to do with politics?" asked the Emperor. "I refuse to believe that she is unpopular among the people." At the same time all the nation spoke of the

Empress as "the German," considering her the bulwark of pro-Germanism in the court.

The Grand-Duke Nicholas Mikhailovitch was banished to his estates for telling the Czar the truth about the situation and the Rasputin scandal. When he had finished his statement, fearing that he had gone too far, the Grand-Duke said, "Now call your Cossacks and have me killed and buried in your garden." Nicholas II. merely smiled. A few days later he wrote a note to the Grand-Duke ordering his retirement to his country estate. Before retiring the Grand-Duke addressed a letter to the Emperor as follows:

You have frequently proclaimed your will to continue the war to a victorious end. Are you sure that the present condition of the country permits this? Do you hear the whole truth, or is much concealed? Where is the root of the evil?

Often did you tell me your country could put faith in no one and that you were being deceived. If this is so, then it applies particularly to your wife, who loves you and yet led you into error, being surrounded by evil-minded intimates. You believe in Alexandra Feodorovna. This is natural. But the words she utters are the product of skilful machinations, not of truth. If you are powerless to liberate her from these influences, then at all events be on your guard against the constant and systematic influence of intriguers who are using your wife as their instrument.

Your first impulse and decision are always remarkably true and to the point, but as soon as other influences super-

vene you begin to waver, and your ultimate decisions are not the same. If you could remove the persistent interference of dark forces in all matters the regeneration of Russia would instantly be advanced, and you would regain the confidence of the enormous majority of your subjects, which you have forfeited. Everything will go smoothly. When the time comes—and it is not far distant—you can yourself proclaim from the throne the gift of the desired responsibility of Ministers to yourself and to the legislative institutions. That will come about simply of itself without pressure from outside, not like the memorable enactment of October 30, 1905.

I long hesitated to tell you the whole truth, but decided to do so after I had been convinced by your mother and sisters that it must be done. You are on the eve of new troubles—I say more, on the eve of attempts on your life.

Vladimir Purishkevitch, the member of the Duma who opposed the Government in spite of his notorious monarchical affiliations, went to see the Emperor for the special purpose of warning him against the activities of the dark forces. But Nicholas II. took no heed also of the urgings of one of his leading public supporters. Purishkevitch returned to the Duma convinced of the necessity for quick action. Toward the end of December he delivered, from the tribune of the Duma, a powerful assault against the *camarilla*.

Paul Miliukov, who had wrecked Sturmer's Premiership, now made another violent attack upon the Government, aiming at Protopopov.

For his first attack he had nearly paid with his life. A plot to kill him was organized by the leader of the Black Hundreds, Dubrovin, who was a close associate of the dark forces.

Prohozhi, a trusted member of the organization, undertook to remove Miliukov for a certain sum of money and a guarantee of immunity from the law. But, after thinking it over, the selected assassin repented and disclosed the whole scheme. There was no doubt in the minds of the people that the plot originated with the reactionary forces working for a separate peace with Germany, as Miliukov was the sharpest thorn in their side. In his latest indictment of the Government there was a ring that resounded throughout the world.

Before adjourning for Christmas, the Duma adopted a resolution protesting against the forces undermining the nation's efforts toward winning the war and indorsing the activities of the social organizations. But the end of 1916 was yet to inscribe the most dramatic chapter of all in the history of the year.

XII

RASPUTIN AND PROTOPOPOV

IN the early hours of December 30th a policeman on duty at the Moika Canal, Petrograd, heard the sounds of shots and cries coming from a house belonging to the young Prince Felix Yusupov, who had married a cousin of the Czar. In the house were Grand-Duke Dmitri Pavlovitch, ex-Minister of the Interior, Khvostov, Deputy Purishkevitch, and others. When the policeman went to the gate of the house to ask what had happened, he received no explanation.

A short while later two motor-cars drove up to the door and into the garden. In one of the cars a large bundle was placed. Beside this bundle a man took his seat and ordered the chauffeur to drive to an island at the mouth of the Neva. Traces of blood were left in the garden. There were also marks of blood on the ice of the frozen Neva where the car had stopped.

Near these marks was a freshly made hole. And close to the hole lay a pair of blood-stained rubber shoes.

The bundle that was taken out of the house of Prince Yusupov was the body of Rasputin, the omnipotent monk who had ruled Russia from behind the throne of the Czar. He had been lured by the aristocratic company to the dwelling of the young Prince Yusupov, shot there, carried to the river, and dropped into the hole. The dark forces had received a powerful blow. Their leader was gone.

Russia celebrated the event with unbounded joy. Seldom had that turbulent country been thrilled as it was by the sensational news of Rasputin's end. The slayers, although known, were left alone by the Government of Trepov for obvious reasons. First, they were of too high a rank to be arrested; secondly, Trepov was himself glad of the destruction of the chief of the dark forces, seeing in it the downfall of Protopopov and a relief of the tension between the nation and the Cabinet.

Protopopov was so profoundly affected by the news of Rasputin's death that he fainted. The Czarina and the *camarilla* were thunderstruck. Madame Virubova, the collaborator

of the slain monk, took his daughters to her home as a sign of her profound emotion. The Czar and his son, Alexis, who were at General Headquarters at the time of the murder, hurried to Tsarskoye Selo as soon as information of it reached there.

When the Czar arrived home the body of the monk had already been recovered from the river. A mass was served by the Petrograd Metropolitan, Pitirim, an associate of the assassinated muzhik. The body was then taken to Tsarskoye Selo, where the *camarilla* paid their last respects to the impostor. Minister Protopopov was one of the chief mourners. He, General Voyeykov, the Emperor, and others carried the silver coffin in which Rasputin's body had been placed to the burying-ground. The Czarina and the Court intriguers followed in deep mourning. This scandal only enraged the people the more.

Alexander Yablonovsky, one of Russia's leading feuilletonists, summarized the part of Rasputin in history as an era in itself.

Practically the entire historic rôle of Rasputin, he wrote, consists of the fact that he united all Russia in a general hatred for the dark, irresponsible forces.

The Imperial Duma, the Imperial Council, the United Nobility, the social organizations, the press—all were

permeated by the same conviction—namely, that it was high time to remove from the Russian political arena the Government gamblers.

More than that, Rasputin became even a matter of concern to Europe. The foreign press printed articles about him. The foreign ambassadors cabled long reports in code to their governments in connection with him. But, of course, to Europe he was more of a sad anecdote than an historical fact. To us, on the other hand, he was not only a fact, he was an era.

We have experienced immeasurable humiliation on account of him. But this humiliation has fused Russia into a single body, creating citizens out of human pulp.

All our life we fought the irresponsible bureaucracy. Our literature, our press, our science, our parties—all, according to their resources, plucked the roots of this rotten plant. But how big were the results of our half-century of labor?

And then a Siberian muzhik appeared, and against his own will he cut the arteries of the dark force, he stamped it in the mud, spitting at the very principle, the very idea, of autocratic bureaucracy.

Rasputin was killed for the purpose of cleansing Russia of the dark forces. The people expected momentarily the fall of the *camarilla* and the dismissal of Protopopov. But these expectations were soon shattered. Instead of dissolving, the dark forces rallied under a new head. The subtle and crafty Protopopov hastened to replace Rasputin's influence over the Czarina by spiritualistic séances organized under his supervision at the palace. The spirit of the dead impostor was conjured up to con-

tinue the activities of his life on earth. Protopopov used the spirit for even larger purposes than Rasputin himself ever did. The result was that the Minister of the Interior virtually replaced the slain monk in power and authority.

Premier Trepov had allowed the press to print almost everything on the Rasputin scandal. He also continued to exert his influence for the retirement of Protopopov. But the latter was too powerful, and it was Trepov who was forced to resign after holding the Premiership for about six weeks. With the Premier also resigned Minister of Education Ignatyev, the most popular Minister in the country. Public opinion felt outraged by the dismissal of the latter. He received more than a thousand telegrams of sympathy from all the corners of the land. As successor to Trepov Prince Nicholas Golitzin, a bureaucrat of the old school and a man of little personality, was appointed. One of the blackest reactionaries in the country, Kultchitsky, obtained the portfolio of Minister of Education. The new Premier announced promptly that no reforms were to be expected from him. Indeed, he could grant none, as the real ruler of the Government was Protopopov.

At the reception held at the palace on the night of the Russian New-Year, which begins on the 14th of January, by the new style, President Rodzianko of the Duma was present. Protopopov, once vice-president and colleague of Rodzianko, approached the latter to shake hands. But the head of the Duma turned away from the ex-member of the Progressive Bloc who betrayed the Duma to affiliate himself with the pernicious *camarilla*. This incident produced a profound impression on the nation. It was reported that Protopopov would challenge Rodzianko to a duel, but nothing of the kind occurred. Another time the all-powerful Minister of the Interior strolled into one of the most exclusive and aristocratic clubs of Petrograd. He took a seat at one of the tables. Immediately all his neighbors arose and silently moved to the other end of the room, so complete and solid was the ring of hate surrounding the heir to Rasputin.

On January 1, 1917, old style, the Czar struck a blow at the liberal forces of the Imperial Council. He issued an edict retiring a large number of progessive members and replacing them with reactionaries. The new president of the Council was Stcheglovitov, one of the

blackest and most hateful of bureaucratic charlatans. He was responsible for the trial of a Jew named Beilis on the charge of ritual murder. The name of Stcheglovitov alone was enough to excite the democracy. To put him at the head of the Imperial Council meant to alienate further those few elements who still clung to the belief that autocracy was sacred.

The month of January was a period of perfect chaos in the Government. With the rise of Golitzin it was announced that the opening of the Duma's session was postponed till January 25th in order to let Golitzin reorganize the Cabinet. Later a ukase fixed February 27th as the date of the meeting of the Duma. The reorganization of the Cabinet began with the dismissal of General Shuvaiev, the War Minister, who appeared at the Duma during the fatal fight against Sturmer to offer his support to the nation. So long as Shuvaiev was at the head of the War Ministry, the Zemstvos still had an opportunity to labor for the cause of national defense. But Protopopov wanted to break down the remaining support of the army. He did not dare to appoint a member of the *camarilla* to the post, for that might have provoked the soldiery. So he simply changed men,

bringing about the appointment of General Beliaef to the post. At the same time Foreign Minister Pokrovsky, hardly five weeks in office; Minister of Finance, Paul Bark; and Minister of Commerce, Shakhovskoy, were reported to have been granted sick leaves of two months. Nobody knew for some time who were in the Cabinet. All kinds of rumors and stories made the rounds of the country. The conservative Minister of Justice Makarov was replaced by the still more conservative Dobrovolsky, while the Ministry of Communications was intrusted to Voinnovsky-Kriger, an Assistant Minister. A number of Assistant Ministers of the various departments were dismissed and shifted. The arrested ex-War Minister Sukhomlinov, accused of treason, was released through the personal intervention of the Empress. The press was forbidden to write about it.

The general situation in the country became extremely critical in February. The anarchy reigning in the Government and the severe frosts completely disorganized the transportation system of the empire. The food-supplies in the big cities were at their lowest ebb. Actual famine was at hand. Sporadic strikes broke out here and there. The police did their best,

under the direction of Protopopov, to incite the people to riots. The leaders of the Duma repeatedly issued appeals to the populace not to let itself be trapped by the German and pro-German agents. But it was daily becoming harder to restrain the starving masses. Again the meeting of the Duma was awaited breathlessly, but the situation was much graver now than ever. As a matter of fact, it had reached the crisis. Protopopov, isolated entirely, and hated alike by all classes and factions, grew furious against social and democratic Russia. For a while he announced a plan to emancipate the Jews, an extraordinary idea for a mortal enemy of democracy. The purpose, of course, was to win the support of at least one element in the population of the country. And so the unusual spectacle was presented of the Black Hundreds, who had massacred Jews by the thousand, passing resolutions calling for Jewish emancipation. These resolutions were promulgated at the initiative of the dark forces, who were in need of allies in the nation. Fortunately the Jews were not caught by the bait of Protopopov, for they were resolved to pool their fortunes with the Russian democracy.

Protopopov's next act convulsed the nation

with rage and rebellion. He attacked the War Industries Committee, which mobilized all the industrial resources of the country for the prosecution of the war. The workers employed by the organizations under the control of the committee, numbering hundreds of thousands, consisted of two elements. The majority section favored the co-operation of all classes in the fight against Prussianism. The minority element was anti-war and strongly pacifistic. Protopopov did his best to encourage all kinds of movements among the latter. But he found the patriotic workers an obstacle to his plans. A group of them from time to time issued warnings to the workers not to heed the appeals of police agitators. It happened more than once, when a speaker was addressing a crowd in favor of a movement for a separate peace, that some patriotic worker would complain to the authorities against the agitator. But the police only smiled, for they had orders not to disturb their own men. Protopopov, however, wanted to weed out the Labor Group loyal to the war. He had them arrested and thrown into prison.

The nation stood aghast. Protopopov must have gone mad to commit such a flagrant act

of treason. There were, indeed, several indications that he had become partly demented. It became clear to all that the nation was being driven to revolution. Few wanted it during the war, fearing that it might paralyze the victualing of the army at the front. All postponed the day of reckoning till after the war. But Protopopov and the *camarilla* willed otherwise. They wanted revolution, because they expected to crush it quickly with the police and soldiers, meanwhile using it as a cause for a separate peace. An organized rebellion was being prepared by the secret service. Hundreds of machine-guns were distributed among the police in the various sections of the capital. The authorities were instructed to reduce the supply of food arriving daily in Petrograd. The vast army at the front was left with food reserves sufficient only for a few days. These reserves were then systematically reduced to a two days' supply. While rebellion was to shake Petrograd, the army was to find itself without food. The result, of course, would be a total collapse and the conclusion of peace with Prussia.

On February 27th the Duma met. Three hundred thousand workmen walked out in

Petrograd on that day. Revolution was in the air. Protopopov had distributed machine-guns among the police. Heavy detachments of troops were on guard everywhere. Many million hearts trembled with apprehension. The few men directing the affairs of Great Britain, France, and Italy, arose that morning with their hearts heavy and oppressed. They knew that fatal events were approaching. The first day the expected storm did not break. Premier Golitzin, against whom all attacks were being prepared, failed to make his expected declaration. Minister of Agriculture Rittich made a long speech on the food situation, which was received in chilly silence. The Socialist Deputy Tcheidze delivered an address which was weak for that occasion. In the Imperial Council, the Upper Chamber, the new President, Stcheglovitov, refused to allow the leader of the Left Group to make a declaration, whereupon the group and part of the Center walked out. The next day a meeting of the Right Group, under the presidency of ex-Premier Trepov, decided that Stcheglovitov's act was illegal. The black president had thus succeeded on the first day to range against himself the entire Council. On the whole, the results of the Duma's

morning session were received with a feeling of relief abroad.

The big demonstration ended in peace. The Czar evidently ascribed it to Protopopov's preparations, for he addressed to him a rescript of thanks for his good work. The workers, however, abstained from violence because they did not wish to fall into Protopopov's trap. Still not all returned to work on the 28th.

The session held on the evening of the 27th was of a portentous character. Vladimir Purishkevitch, the Conservative, who was implicated in the murder of Rasputin, discharged the opening volley:

> Not a day passes [he began] but the German party, working for the success of our enemy, raises its head higher in this country. I have now worked more than two and a half years at the front, and I can tell you that now, in the third year of the war, the spirit of the Russian army is a firm guarantee of our victory, for it is still what it always was. Words fail me to express my indignation for those who, following the cries of foul agitators, permit themselves to leave their work and seek the streets with political demand in the heavy days which Russia is living through. Their names are traitors, helpers of German arms to success, betrayers of their country, murderers of their brothers who are lying in the trenches amid the snowdrifts. But words also fail me to describe those who force them out into the streets and give stone to a people that is asking for bread. . . .
>
> The cry of Russia in these heavy days is the cry also of the Imperial Duma, of the Council of Empire, of the Con-

gress of the Nobility, of the local unions of the nobility, of the Zemstvo institutions, of the public corporations. They are all suspect in the eyes of the authorities, and their views concealed from those for whom the hearts of the nation are beating. Governmental inquisition has been carried to a pitch unknown since the days of Ivan the Terrible and the favorite Biron. The words of the press, unveiling the abuses of the authorities, are torn by vultures, like the heart of the fettered Prometheus. The taker of bribes in high station need have no fears for the safety of his plunder. It is protected by the notice, "Do not touch." But, gentlemen, it is not this that stirs a Russia which is living through the Byzantine pages of its history, for Russia can reconcile herself to anything that is done in the name of victory. The Imperial Duma, like all Russia, has been forced out of the normal tracks of its legislative work, not by the devices employed by the authorities in their struggle with an as yet invisible domestic foe, but by those impalpable intrigues, perceptible to our natural instinct, intrigues inspired by the secret thoughts of certain people, to whom the elemental desire of the nation—"Peace only in Berlin"—is strange and unintelligible. . . .

The Minister of the Interior is struggling to eradicate rebellion, invisible to us, in all those institutions of the empire in which the pulse of Russia now most loudly beats, in which the voice of Russian patriotic truth speaks in the interests of an acceleration of coming victory. Down with all public organizations—that is Protopopov's watchword in the Council of Ministers. Journalists are sent into banishment in gangs, and the Minister of the Interior openly declares that they are banished not for revealing military secrets, but for writing articles unfavorable to him personally. His dream is preliminary censorship, for that is necessary for the protection of his personality.

Realizing what has been done, any one will say that there is at present no unified Government, no united Cabinet capable of appreciating all the seriousness of the events

we are living through, no assurance of what will happen to-morrow. The Damocles sword of dismissal is hung over the Duma to terrify it. . . .

I recognize the futility of all speeches, and I recognize the hopelessness, at the present moment, of the work of the Duma. No work of the Duma, no speeches delivered in it, can be of any succor. I am convinced that there will be no change, and that the Minister of the Interior will go to extremes of which no one has yet dreamed. For his struggle with all Russia Protopopov will adopt every measure to which his imagination prompts him. After all, what is Russia to him? To-day Russia stands, like Hercules of old, in the shirt poisoned with the blood of the Centaur Nenus. It burns her. She writhes in the agony of her impotence. Her cry is that Russian truth should penetrate to those places where it should be spoken, appreciated, and regarded. Dawn is not yet, but it is behind the hills. Day will come—I feel its approach—and the sun of truth will, in the hour of victory, rise above a regenerated Fatherland.

In the course of the day an interpellation addressed to the Government was read by the leader of the Progressive Bloc, Shidlovsky. It requested the Ministers to come to the Duma and give explanations of the measures they intended to adopt to improve the condition of the country, and to check the lawless acts of the police. The Ministers did not appear. On the following day Paul Miliukov, the leader of the cadets, and A. Kerensky, the brilliant Socialist leader of the Laborites, addressed the Duma. The former drew a parallel between the archaic Russian Government and the efficient machines

of the Allies. He denounced the arrest of the patriotic Labor Group by Protopopov. Kerensky spoke passionately and sharply.

"We are living in a state of anarchy unprecedented in our history," he said. "In comparison with it the period of 1613 seems child's play. Chaos has enveloped not only the political, but the economic life of the country as well. It destroyed the very foundations of the nation's social-economic structure.

"Things have come to such a pass that recently one of the Ministries, shipping coal from Petrograd to a near-by city, had armed the train with a special guard so that other authorities should not confiscate the coal on the way. We have arrived already at the primitive stage when each person defends with all the resources at his command the material in his possession, ready to enter into a mortal combat for it with his neighbor. We are witnessing the same scenes which France went through at the time of the revolution. Then also the products shipped to Paris were accompanied by special troop detachments to prevent their being seized by the provincial authorities. . . .

"Behold the Cabinet of Rittich—Protopopov—Golitzin, dragging into the court the Labor

Group of the War Industries Committee, charged with aiming at the erection of a Russian Social-Democratic Republic! They did not even know that nobody aims at a 'Social-Democratic' republic. One aiming at a republic labors for popular government. But has the court anything to say about all these distinctions? We know beforehand what sentences are to be imposed upon the prisoners. . . . I have no desire to criticize the individual members of the Cabinet. The greatest mistake of all is to seek traitors, German agents, separate Sturmers. We have a still greater enemy than the German influence, than treason and treachery of individual persons. And this is the system. The system of a medieval form of government. . . . "

Irrefutable proof that the Government wanted a rebellion was presented before the Duma by Deputy A. Konovalov on March 3d. He disclosed the fact that on March 1st the only two members of the Labor Group who were as yet left at liberty, seeing the danger of the spreading strike movement provoked by the arrests and police repressions, drew up an appeal exhorting the workers not to strike. The appeal read:

Comrades, workers of Petrograd! We consider it our duty to appeal to you to return to work immediately. The working class, recognizing its responsibility at the present moment, must not weaken its powers by a protracted strike. The interests of the labor class call you to your shops.

Anosovsky and Ostapenko, members of the Labor Group of the War Industries Committee.

The two signers took the appeal to the War Industries Committee's bureau to obtain the censor's permission to issue it. The committee, which was an influential and powerful organization working for the army's welfare, approved of the appeal and sent it to the censor for approval. But the Government censor did not pass the proclamation calling for an end of the strikes!

Alexander Guchkov, President of the War Industries Committee, thereupon sent copies of the appeal to the Minister of the Interior, the chief censor, and the newspapers. But it was never published. At two o'clock in the morning, before the papers went to press, a mysterious hand, which undoubtedly belonged to Protopopov, interfered and forbade the publication of the appeal.

This incident clinches the whole mass of reports and circumstantial evidence accusing Protopopov of inciting a revolution. Later

events demonstrated that such was really the case. As the situation stood in the first week of March, there was, on one side, the Duma engaged in denunciation of the Government, but afraid to act lest the war be lost; and, on the other side, the masses, brought to the brink of revolt by intolerable conditions created by the Government and by both provocative and sincere agitation. The Duma and all the other moderate leaders were rapidly losing their restraining influence over the masses. For the masses were being driven onward by elemental and irresistible forces. No moral power on earth could stop their progress. No human vision could calculate their increasing momentum. The Duma, representing some of the best brains in mankind, watched with throbbing hearts the natural course of events, expecting the next hour to see Russia, Europe, all democracy, swept toward ultimate destruction by a combined Russo-German-Austrian autocratic concert.

In the office of the Ministry of the Interior the man who was the immediate author of this tidal wave contemplated, with a cynical smile on his face, the consummation of his Machiavellian scheme. Outside of the realm where the

Duma and Protopopov lived, there was a big world attending to its normal and abnormal business in perfect ignorance of the coming earthquake. To all the three—the Duma, the leader of the dark forces, and the preoccupied world—the upheaval carried stunning surprises. To the history of civilization it contributed the most dramatic chapter in the annals of democracy.

XIII

THE REVOLUTION

IN the first week of March strikes on a small scale continued in Petrograd. The more radical elements of the labor class agitated for the release of the arrested Labor Group. This agitation was supported by the Government's agents provocateurs. Disguised as workmen, they urged the crowds to clamor for food, and to revolt in case they could not get it. The police, armed with machine-guns, were prepared to quell any such revolt so as to enable the *camarilla* to negotiate for a separate peace. The cooler heads among the labor people understood the diabolical plan of the Government. Many of them were saying, "This is not a Zabastovka, but a Protopovka," which meant, "This is not a strike, but a trap of Protopopov."

Small riots occurred in Petrograd on March 3d. The following day all the troops in the city

were called out to patrol the streets. Martial law was declared and Petrograd divided into districts, with regimental commanders in charge. Meanwhile, the police were denuding the city of all its foodstuffs and storing them in order to decrease the available supplies for the population. The result was that prices rose from ten to fifteen times the normal.

The strike movement began to expand. The textile workers walked out on March 7th. Various other trades followed. Popular demonstrations, in which the cry was "Give us bread," first occurred on Thursday, March 8th. The troops patrolling the streets were good-tempered and showed no disposition to resort to violence. Soldiers could be heard saying to civilians, "Well, you just start and we shall help you."

Friday, March 9th, part of the tramway men struck. Thousands of other workers also joined the spontaneous movement. Evidently the masses themselves did not realize whither they were drifting. The spacious Nevsky Prospect, the chief thoroughfare of Petrograd, was full of people who came out to enjoy the sight of the demonstrations. The university students went out on strike. The excitement was in-

tense, there was thunder in the air, and yet there was the spirit of a hilarious celebration about it all. The Cossacks and mounted police were everywhere. The former, sent out to break up the crowds, steered their horses carefully in and out of the dense throngs, waving their whips in the air instead of using them on the demonstrators. They were wildly cheered and responded with laughter. A woman shouted:

"Go for the police, not for us."

A Cossack replied, "We shall settle accounts with the police later."

Saturday, the 10th, only one newspaper appeared, the *Novoye Vremya*, a conservative publication. That was its last issue under the old régime. The strike spread further during the day, sweeping even the moderate workers into the ranks of the demonstrators. Tramway traffic was completely paralyzed.

The organized workmen of Petrograd, following the example of the revolution of 1905, elected a council to direct the general strike and the developing movement. This body became known as the Council of Workmen's Deputies, and it was destined to play a leading part in the approaching upheaval.

The throngs that filled the streets were becoming aggressive. A well-known baker's shop was looted and its windows smashed when the crowd of five hundred who waited in line to buy bread were told that only fifty could be served. They broke into the store and found large quantities of bread hidden away for richer customers.

The police had their hands full dispersing the crowds, using their weapons freely. There were numerous casualties, but the authorities issued an order that no wounded were to be taken to any of the hospitals and no dead to the morgues.

The Duma was in session all the time. When the situation in the city became critical, the Duma broke off relations with the Government. The Progressive Bloc unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"The Government which covered its hands with the blood of the people should no longer be admitted to the Duma. With such a Government the Duma breaks all relations forever."

The Czar's answer to the Duma resolution was a decree ordering its dissolution.

Sunday, March 11th, the Duma decided to ignore the Emperor's ukase and continued in

session. The workers, exasperated by the activity of the police, were in a fighting mood. Hundreds of thousands marched in processions to the Winter Palace. The commander of the Petrograd military district had posted a proclamation forbidding gatherings and threatening that the soldiers would "stop at nothing to restore order." The proclamation was entirely ignored by the population. Troop and police patrols were passing through the crowds at regular intervals. The streets were packed with expectant throngs, listening to revolutionary speakers. The Cossacks rode through the dense masses, again managing their horses with great delicacy and causing no injuries. The faces of the people were smiling, as if awaiting a joyous event.

The bridges connecting the center of Petrograd with the other islands making up the Russian capital were guarded by the police. Sunday morning the main bridges leading to the northern districts were cut off, strict orders having been issued not to let any person cross into the city. Evidently the workers were preparing for a decisive action. The bridges linking the center of Petrograd with the right bank of the Neva and the southern districts were,

however, left open. Over these vast numbers of workers poured into the chief thoroughfare, the Nevsky Prospect. The mass which filled the square in front of the Nicholas Station was enormous.

The police, secreted on the tops of buildings, opened fire with machine-guns at the demonstrators. A little later other police, disguised as soldiers of the Volynski Regiment, fired on the throngs from a side-street. Altogether about two hundred persons were killed or wounded. The crowds were enraged at the police.

The soldiers of the Volynski Regiment, famous in Russian revolutionary history, were enraged at their commander for allowing the police to wear the regimental uniforms. They revolted, killed the commander, and joined the people.

The revolt of the Volynski Regiment occurred at five o'clock in the afternoon of March 11th, and marked the beginning of the Russian revolution. Up to that moment the demonstrations had been in the nature of protests. After that they assumed a revolutionary character. Detachments of other troops were called out, but most of them refused point-blank to obey orders to fire on the people. One or two detachments did fire, and as a result several

fights ensued between the revolutionary and Government troops. All evening the struggle between the masses and the police continued throughout the city. The chief of police was slain. Disorder became general

Michael Rodzianko, the President of the Duma, addressed the following telegram of warning to the Emperor on Sunday night:

"The situation is grave. Anarchy reigns in the capital. The Government is paralyzed. The transport of provisions and fuel is completely disorganized. General dissatisfaction is growing. Irregular rifle-firing is occurring in the streets. It is necessary to charge immediately some person enjoying the confidence of the people to form a new Government. It is impossible to linger. Any delay means death. Let us pray to God that the responsibility in this hour will not fall upon a crowned head."

The night of March 11th was a fateful one for Russia. There was anxiety and fear in the hearts of all. The Duma received no answer from the Czar to the message of Rodzianko. The Deputies, helpless before the elemental tide of popular wrath, were contemplating the approaching day with despair. The Government had tens of thousands of troops in Petro-

grad. Was there any doubt that it would be able to suppress the rebellious soldiers and workmen? To the Duma it seemed that Russia was doomed. "The revolution will be crushed in fifteen minutes," said Paul Miliukov, the leader of the Constitutional Democrats.

While the Duma assumed this watchful and inactive attitude, the leaders of the socialistic, revolutionary, and labor elements organized for a general attack in the morning, against the old régime. Desultory firing continued all night. When morning broke there was no longer a confused mass of rebellious people facing an organized system. Committees were appointed during the night from among the labor leaders by the Council of Workmen's Deputies to plan and direct the steps that were to free Russia. The Duma was either unaware of its existence or opposed to its tactics. In any event, the Duma did not identify itself with the actual fighting that followed; it did not come out into the streets to head the rebel populace; it only morally supported the movement.

Huge crowds filled the leading streets early Monday morning. They were formed in processions and directed to go, by various routes, to the Arsenal. The police fired upon the people

from the roofs and attics of the corner buildings. But the soldiers who were ordered to help them refused. First the famous Guards' Regiment joined the rebels. They killed the officer who had ordered them to shoot into the crowds. A second regiment was sent out to suppress the Guards, but instead it took the side of the revolutionists. A third regiment soon joined the first two. Together with the people they attacked the police cordon, smashed through, and broke into the Arsenal. The commandant, General Matusov, was killed. In a few minutes the rebels had at their disposal thousands of rifles, revolvers, machine-guns, and a vast store of ammunition. Loaded with arms and ammunition, they formed into detachments and went after the police. The Artillery Department was taken over by the masses at the same time.

The news of the first success spread like wild-fire. The troops who were sent to quell the uprising began to waver. Detachment after detachment and regiment after regiment went over to the people. "While I was standing on the Trinity Bridge," an observer of that morning wrote, "a picket ten strong consulted earnestly together. After a few moments the

sergeant in charge looked in the direction of the Arsenal, whence the cheering and shots were heard. He took off his cap and crossed himself, saying: "What is to be will be! Come along, boys; we are on the people's side." Forming up his section, which was already in looser and less orthodox formation, they marched off past the British Embassy in the direction of the Duma. They had hardly gone a few yards when two officers galloped up. The sergeant shouted:

" 'Return or we fire!'

"The officers turned and left by the Summer Gardens and disappeared.

"A few minutes later a squadron of Cossacks passed me in Million Street. They were galloping and they were surrounding a motor-car containing officers, who were taken prisoners."

At the same time the President of the Duma, Rodzianko, despatched to the Czar another warning. He wrote:

"The situation is growing worse. It is necessary to take measures immediately, for tomorrow it will be too late. The last hour has struck to decide the fate of the country and the dynasty."

President Rodzianko had also sent, the pre-

vious night, messages to the generals commanding on the various fronts, urging them to support his plea with the Emperor. They complied readily. But the Czar evidently had confidence in Protopopov and his machine-guns. He ignored the warnings of the Duma and the generals, making no reply.

A revolutionary army, composed of soldiers, armed students, and workers, turned, after the fall of the Arsenal, to the prisons and police courts. The "Kresty," where the Labor Group and Khrustalev-Nosar, the leader of the Petrograd rising of 1905, were detained, was stormed and after some resistance captured. The heavy doors of the jail were smashed open and the amazed prisoners set free. The Detention Prison was also stormed and set on fire, as were many police stations.

Next to fall before the revolutionary forces was the famous Peter and Paul Fortress. In the history of Russia it played the rôle of the French Bastille. In its casemates many fighters for freedom were languishing. They were released by the rebels and given a tremendous ovation. The Schluesselburg Fortress was also seized and emptied of its political prisoners.

One of these released men, an old political

prisoner, with a revolver in hand, led the crowds to the Secret Service Department. On the way every policeman they saw was shot down. Military officers were disarmed and arrested; those who offered resistance killed. With bayonets, swords, pistols, and machine-guns they were hunting the police. Every police nest was swept of its contents, ammunition and stored food-supplies requisitioned, and the places demolished.

The Secret Service Department symbolized the old régime like no other institution. It was with great bitterness that the crowds threw themselves upon this bulwark of Czarism. The archives, containing the records of hundreds of thousands of victims of the despotic system, were set afire. So huge were the piles of these documents that for three days the cellars were a glowing furnace. Even on the third day people crowded around the scorched and frameless windows to warm their hands at the glow.

Dead and dying were strewn in the streets. The churches and other public buildings, in addition to the hospitals, were opened for the accommodation of the dead and wounded. Strict orders were issued that the killed or

wounded policemen or army officers were to lie were they fell.

Red flags were now waving in the air everywhere, and, singing the songs of freedom and revolution, the masses continued their victorious fight. The leaders of the movement commandeered every motor-car they could get, armed it with a machine-gun and a gun crew, and set it free to tour the city and round up the agents of the Government.

By one o'clock twenty-five thousand soldiers had joined the revolutionists. A deputation of these troops arrived at the Duma to ascertain its position. President Rodzianko communicated to them the resolution, wired to the Emperor, urging him to set up a Ministry responsible to the people. At two o'clock the revolutionary soldiers began arriving at the Taurida Palace, the Duma's meeting-place. Deputies Tcheidze, Kerensky, and Skobelev, all Socialists, addressed the revolutionary army and were enthusiastically cheered. The soldiers then detailed guards for the Duma and took over its telephone and telegraph apparatus.

Prince Golitzin, the Prime Minister, telephoned to Rodzianko his resignation. The other Ministers had disappeared. As if by a

miracle the gang that controlled the helm of the Government a few hours earlier had now vanished in the thin air. The collapse of the Protopopov-Golitzin combination was as complete as it was swift and sudden.

At 2:30 o'clock the Duma met. The question of organizing a temporary committee to restore order in Petrograd was discussed. In view of the crowded assembly it was decided to let the Council of Elders of the Duma appoint this committee. Twelve members, representing all the parties, were named for this body, which became known as the Duma Committee of Safety.

At about the same time the leaders of the revolution, the original labor council, several army representatives and the chiefs of the radical parties met in another hall of Taurida Palace. Instituting themselves into a temporary committee, the meeting issued an ppeal to the entire revolutionary proletariat and soldiery of the city to hold immediate elections for the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, the first session of which was to be held at seven o'clock that evening.

At 5:30 o'clock the President of the Imperial Council, Stcheglovitov, was brought under

guard to the Duma, being the first Minister to be arrested. He was met by Deputy Kerensky, who asked:

"Are you former Minister Stcheglovitov?"

"Yes, I am," was the answer.

"You are arrested by my order. You will have to stay here. We do not wish to harm you, but you are dangerous to the new Russia as a reactionary. You will have to stay here."

"I submit," replied the black leader.

The greatest day in the history of Russia, March 12th, drew to its end. Petrograd that day arose under the rule of despotism and went to bed under the protection of the people's authority—the Duma Committee and the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies. It was the workmen and soldiers that actually fought and shed their blood for the freedom of Russia. The Duma took a hand in the situation only after the revolution had achieved its main successes.

The Committee of Safety and the Council of Deputies were in session all night, and issued in the morning of March 13th two proclamations to the masses. The first called for the quick restoration of order and law. The second appealed to the people to demolish completely

the old régime and create a new Government through a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of universal, secret, and direct suffrage.

The Duma Committee next issued an appeal to the army officers to come to the support of the Duma. "In spite of the profound difference of opinion among the Duma members forming the temporary committee," read the appeal, "at the present difficult moment complete harmony has been reached among them. We are faced by the urgent task of organizing the elemental popular movement. In organization only are there safety and power. Obey temporarily the Committee of the Duma."

The Committee despatched armed men in motor-cars to keep order in the city.

In front of the Duma on March 13th the various military organizations and schools, led by their officers, came to place themselves at the disposal of the Duma Committee. President Rodzianko addressed in turn the Michailov Artillery School, the Imperial Guard, the famous Preobrazhensky Regiment and the Ninth Reserve Cavalry Regiment. At the same time Miliukov was invited to address the First Reserve Cavalry Regiment. He appealed for the support of both officers and regulars. The

leader of the Constitutional Democrats was carried by the soldiers to his automobile.

Kerensky, the Socialist Deputy, met with even greater enthusiasm on the part of the troops he addressed. "Comrades, workers, soldiers, officers, and citizens!" began Kerensky. "That we are all here together inspires me with confidence that the old barbarous régime is destroyed forever. We are gathered here to swear that Russia shall be free."

"We swear!" resounded a multitude of voices, and tens of thousands of right hands went up into the air.

"Long live the free citizenship of free Russia!" concluded Kerensky.

A prolonged and mighty ovation greeted this sentiment.

During the day ex-Premier Sturmer, General Kurlov, General Commisarov, and many other high officials were arrested. The Duma Committee despatched special commissioners on the rights of Ministers to take charge of the railroad, telegraph, and telephone lines, and various other public utilities and Government departments. The disorders in the streets continued all day, largely being encounters between the police and the revolutionists. The house of

Baron Fredericks, the notorious leader of the *camarilla*, was sacked and burned. One of the biggest hotels in the city was attacked by the revolutionists, and about two hundred officers quartered there arrested. Hundreds of police were also arrested during the day and brought to the Duma.

In the afternoon Grand-Duke Cyril addressed a crowd from the balcony of his house, declaring himself in support of the revolution. Telegrams were sent by the Committee of Safety to the commanders of the Baltic and Black Sea fleets, and to the commanders-in-chief on the western and Caucasian fronts, notifying them of the fall of the Golitzin Government.

Toward evening the Metropolitan Pitirim, one of the members of the *camarilla*, was arrested. The dark head of the Church, a pale and tottering figure in white cap and black robe, was pushed on from behind by not very respectful soldiers. The chief of the Black Hundreds, Doctor Dubrovin, was also brought to the Duma and imprisoned. One of the last of the Ministers to be seized was Protopopov. For nearly two days he hid in the house of a physician. Then his brother found him and suggested that he surrender himself to the new Government.

About eleven o'clock in the evening of March 13th, a man dressed in civilian clothes came to the Duma building. Addressing one of the young people there, he asked:

"Are you a student?"

"Yes, I am."

"Will you lead me to the Committee of Safety of the Duma? I am the former Minister of the Interior, Protopopov, and I came here to surrender. Please take me to the right people."

The crowd about the Duma, recognizing Protopopov, grew excited. Then Deputy Kerensky came out. Protopopov, pale and hardly able to remain standing, said:

"Your Excellency, I am surrendering to the new Government."

The same night ex-Minister of War Sukhomlinov was arrested by a young officer and two sailors. When he was brought to the Duma the news of it spread among the soldiers and workers like a flame. They began to shout: "Give us Sukhomlinov! Give us the traitor!" With difficulty Deputy Kerensky saved him from immediate execution. His epaulets, however, were torn off and a soldier was admitted to the room of his detention. Only through

the hard efforts of Duma members was the excitement allayed.

March 13th also saw the last stand of the old régime. The Admiralty building was defended by a couple of regiments still loyal to the Czar's Government. For several hours a fierce battle between the defenders and the revolutionary army followed. Finally the loyal troops decided to surrender and go over to the revolutionists. This completed the army's support of the revolution. The Petrograd troops were now wholly on the side of the people.

All this time there was no news whatever of the Czar, his whereabouts and doings.

March 14th the Committee of Safety wired to all the cities in the empire that the old Government had been deposed and that the Duma constituted a temporary Government.

Normal life was gradually being resumed, beginning with the 14th. The French and British Ambassadors announced to the President of the Duma that their Governments had decided to enter into relations with the Duma's Committee. Moscow and Kharkov also recognized by that time the Committee.

At nine in the morning the Emperor's personal guard joined the revolutionary army.

At four in the afternoon Grand-Duke Cyril appeared in the Duma and put his command at the disposal of the Committee. The Czarina's personal guard also went over to the revolutionaries on the same day. The Winter Palace, the Czar's Petrograd residence, was occupied by the rebels. Deputy Karaulov was commissioned by the Duma to issue an order for the arrest of all drunkards, looters, gendarmes, and secret service men. The official telegraph agency was taken over by Deputy Gronsky. A city militia was formed to keep order. Ex-President Goremykin was arrested with many other reactionaries. A body of several hundred naval and army officers recognized the new Government. The fortress of Kronstadt, its garrison and fleet joined in the revolution. Admiral Viren, the commander, was killed. Two Deputies were commissioned to take charge of the situation there.

And still the Czar was silent. He did not even communicate with his family. When the Tsarskoye Selo garrison revolted and took over the Palace, the Czarina turned to President Rodzianko to protect her and the Czarevitch. Deputies Demidov and Stepanov were despatched to Tsarskoye Selo for that purpose.

March 14th was closed with a proclamation of the Committee of Safety, which read in part:

"Citizens! The great thing has happened. The old Government that oppressed Russia has dissolved itself. . . . The Committee of Safety and the Council of Workmen's Deputies are restoring order and law in the country. . . . The first task at the present moment is the supplying of the army and the people with food. Citizens! Help your country with bread and work!"

The 15th of March still found Russia without a permanent Government. The two committees were successfully running the affairs of the city and the country. But the Czar was still ruler nominally. No new Cabinet had been formed. And yet the population was behaving itself wonderfully. Daily bulletins, issued by a group of Petrograd journalists under the auspices of the Committee of Safety and the Council of Deputies, kept all Petrograd informed of the latest developments. They were distributed free. In the morning the officers issued a joint appeal to the soldiers, calling for continued alertness on the part of the revolutionary army.

"The hour of popular freedom has struck!"

read the appeal. "The army, navy, and people together have raised the holy banner of liberty. Only a free Russia can destroy the German menace. Remember that the safety and victory of Russia lie in our mutual confidence and union. The old autocratic system, which for two years was unable to lead Russia to victory, let it perish forever. Together with you we curse the old régime. Long live free, great Russia!"

The Committee of Safety then proceeded to restore order. Professor Yurevitch was appointed chief of police—undoubtedly the first professor in Russia to hold such a post. Minister of Commerce Prince Shakovskoy and ex-Minister of the Interior Maklakov, a notorious reactionary, were arrested. A special committee was immediately formed to elaborate a plan for a general political amnesty. The Labor party issued an appeal calling for obedience to all the regulations and orders of the Duma Committee.

In Petrograd the clergy got together and issued a spirited appeal on the part of the Church for the new régime. "The time has come when the Orthodox Russian clergy should raise its voice in the great popular movement

for light, truth, brotherly love, and freedom," read the proclamation.

All morning negotiations between the Committee of Safety of the Duma and the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies took place in regard to the formation of a new Government. The negotiations were closed at three o'clock in the afternoon. A Provisional Government was the result of the joint council. With the list of names of the new Cabinet, Miliukov came out to address the awaiting soldiers, sailors, and citizens. He said:

"We are passing through a great historic moment. Only three days ago the Russian Government seemed omnipotent. Now this Government has fallen in disgrace, and we are swept forward by the revolution, army and people, to the honorable seats of the first Russian national Cabinet. . . . We overthrew the Government easily and quickly. But this is not all. The bigger half of the task is still before us. We must retain the triumph which we achieved. How can we do it? The answer is plain and simple. We must organize. We must first of all be of one will and one thought. Many old differences and quarrels took place and existed among the members of the present

Cabinet. Perhaps soon these differences will again become important and serious. But to-day they pale, they disappear before that universal and great problem which we face—the problem of creating a new popular power in place of the old and fallen."

Miliukov then outlined the nature of the new Cabinet's program. As he read the names of the Ministers those who belonged to the radical wing received the greater applause. Kerensky, who was given the portfolio of Minister of Justice, was cheered most of all. When the speaker announced the decision of the two committees to depose "that old despot," the Czar, there was general applause. But when he declared that, temporarily at least, the dynasty would be retained, there was a chorus of disapproval.

The Duma stood, out of fear, for the retention of the Romanovs. The Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies insisted upon the complete overthrow of the monarchy. All morning of March 15th conferences were held between the two bodies. Finally it was decided to demand the abdication of Nicholas II., to proclaim temporarily as regent Grand-Duke Michael, his brother, and to leave the Czar's

son, Alexis, as heir apparent. The revolutionary masses greeted the latter decision with outspoken hostility. "Again the Romanovs!" cried the populace, which had made up its mind during the revolution that Czarism was abolished for good in Russia.

From all parts of the country messages were arriving hourly telling of the nation's unanimous support of the new Government. Grand-Duke Nicholas wired from the Caucasian front urging the Czar to save Russia. The exiled leaders of the revolutionary movement abroad were urged to return immediately home. The Association of Newspaper Editors met and decided to resume as soon as possible the publication of their journals. New army divisions arriving in Petrograd were met by the revolution forces with music and cheers.

The arrested Ministers provided enough diversion for the still nervous population. Protopopov kept asking his guards what would be done to him. Especially alarmed was old Sturmer. "Who will guarantee that they won't cut my head off?" he queried.

Two Conservative Deputies, Alexander Guchkov, War Minister in the Provisional Government, and V. V. Shulgin, were delegated by the

Duma to carry out the decision to dethrone Nicholas II., the man who caused his country more suffering than any other Russian ruler since the days of Ivan the Terrible. The first act of the great Russian revolution was over.

XIV

THE FALL OF CZARISM

NICHOLAS II. was at General Headquarters when the revolution broke out. He received and read Rodzianko's telegrams, but did nothing. He listened to the exhortation of General Alexeiev, but made no move. Just as he had failed to act at the warnings of the Grand-Dukes and his wise counselors, so now he watched events as if in a stupor and acted like an automaton. Summoned by his wife, he and his suite started for Tsarskoye Selo on two trains commanded by General Tsabel. With the Emperor was the notorious General Voyeykov, the old Baron Fredericks and Admiral Nilov. The suite drank heavily, urging the Czar to drink also, for they feared to tell him of the happenings in Petrograd. General Voyeykov, however, told him of the disturbances, adding that four good companies of troops could suppress the rebellion.

At two in the morning, March 14th, the Czar awoke, went into the dining-room, and asked what was really happening. General Voyeykov, according to a correspondent, said:

"A telegram has just arrived that a train of seven hundred men, who had received the Order of the George for valor, commanded by General Ivanov, left Moghilev. These noble heroes are more than enough to make possible that your Majesty should go to Tsarskoye Selo. There you will find a faithful garrison, and at their head go to the Duma, when the troops will remember their allegiance and will know how to deal with the young soldiers and revolutionaries."

At this moment Tsabel came in. "All that is a lie," he said, and showed a telegram from Petrograd, signed by the commandant of the Nicolas Station, Lieutenant Grekov, ordering the Czar's train to be sent, not to Tsarskoye Selo, but to Petrograd.

"What's this—mutiny?" cried the Czar. "Lieutenant Grekov commanding me to Petrograd?"

"Sixty thousand troops with officers are on the side of the Provisional Government," replied Tsabel.

"Why tell me nothing of this before?" asked the Czar. "Why only now, when it is already too late?" Then, after a minute, he said, with quiet hopelessness, "Well, thank God, I will go to Livadia. If the people want it I will abdicate. I will go to Livadia to the gardens. I am so fond of flowers."

Tsabel wrung his hands and went out. Voyeykov followed and ordered the train to proceed.

Meanwhile the railway fitters had spoiled the engine of the first train. The Czar's convoy guarded the second engine, and at dawn the train moved on to Bologoe in the hope of getting somehow to Tsarskoye Selo. At the station another telegram announced that the Tsarskoye Selo garrison was on the side of the revolution. The Czar decided to go to Moscow.

"Mrozovsky [Moscow Commandant] told me Moscow would always be faithful," he said.

Another telegram, however, announced that the whole of the Moscow garrison was on the side of the people. For some time the train went backward and forward between Bologoe and Dno.

At the last station General Ivanov arrived and said the only hope was to go to the army.

General Voyeykov cried out: "The only hope is to open the Minsk front to the Germans. Let German troops put things straight."

Admiral Nilov protested. "Not much good. They will take Russia and not give it back."

Voyeykov referred to the words of the traitress, Wasiltchikova, that Wilhelm was fighting not with Nicholas, but with anti-dynastic Russia.

"Yes," said the Czar, "Rasputin often said that, but I did not listen to him. It could have been done when the Germans were before Warsaw, but I have never betrayed the Russian people." After that he cried, then added: "Oh, if I could be sure my children and my wife would be safe in the hands of these muzhiks, I would go to Livadia and peacefully finish my life there. Let Michael reign. How he understands it! The people like him."

Nicholas went on the platform very pale. Beside him staggered Nilov, hopelessly drunk and singing.

The Czar's first utterances were evidently made under the influence of liquor or the first disappointing news. Later, however, he still thought of continuing to reign. He wired to General Russky, at Pskov, of his arrival. At

eight in the evening, March 14th, the Emperor's train pulled in at Pskov. According to the account of General Russky, the first taciturn words of the Czar showed that, while he was aware of the essential happenings, he entirely failed to grasp the finality of the upheaval. At two in the morning, March 15th, he called General Russky and said: "I am resolved to make concessions and give them a responsible Ministry." The manifesto to that effect was ready signed on the table.

"I knew this measure was useless and too late," Russky told later. "I begged the Czar to talk by telegraph to Rodzianko. I succeeded in getting Rodzianko on the telephone at 3 A.M., and talked two hours. He told me the only way out for the Czar was abdication. I repeated my conversation with Rodzianko by telegraph to General Alexeiev and the front commanders. I went to the Czar at 10 A.M. Meanwhile I had received replies from Alexeiev, the Grand-Duke Nicholas, Brusilov, and others, unanimously recognizing the necessity of abdication.

"The Czar listened and declared he was ready to abdicate, but wished to do so in the presence of Rodzianko. At three o'clock the

Czar summoned me and said he had signed the act of abdication in favor of his son. I went to despatch the news and heard that Deputies Guchkov and Shulgin were on their way to Pskov. The Czar was pleased at the news, hoping that it meant a change in the situation. The train arrived at ten in the evening. The Czar was restless. In spite of my orders that Guchkov and Shulgin should be brought direct to me, some one took them to the Czar.

"When I entered the Imperial car Guchkov was telling the Czar the details of events. He was much pained by the news that his body-guard had gone over to the revolutionaries. He scarcely listened to the rest of the news.

"The Czar asked what he should do, and Guchkov replied, 'Abdicate.'

"After a long pause the Czar replied: 'Very well. I have already signed the abdication in favor of my son, but I have now decided that as my son is not distinguished by good health and I do not wish to part with him, I will yield the throne to Michael.' "

Shulgin, the colleague of Guchkov, said that the Czar was dirty, unwashed, and four days unshaved, and looked like a convict released from a burning prison when he went into the

brightly lighted dining-car. He was in the uniform of a Caucasian regiment.

"Guchkov began to talk, and I was afraid he would say something malicious and cruel to the Czar, but he did not. He spoke at some length, without looking at the Czar. He finished with the statement that the only way out of the situation would be the Czar's abdication in favor of his son, with Michael as Regent. General Russky leaned toward me and murmured, 'That is already settled.' The Czar spoke, and his voice and manner were simpler and more business-like than Guchkov's speech.

" 'I have thought all day yesterday and today, and have decided to abdicate,' he said. 'I cannot part with my son. I hope you understand this. Therefore I have decided to abdicate in favor of my brother.' "

The decision of the Committee of Safety, however, called for the Czar's abdication in favor of his son and not his brother. For a while Deputies Guchkov and Shulgin hesitated.

"This proposal takes us unawares," said Shulgin to the Emperor. "I beg leave to speak for a quarter of an hour with Guchkov, to agree on an answer." The Czar agreed, but the conversation was quickly begun again.

It seemed that a slight expression of satisfaction showed in the Czar's face when Guchkov said he had no right to interfere in paternal feelings. The Czar went into the next room, and about a quarter past eleven came to us in the dining-car with several small sheets of paper in his hand.

"There is the act of abdication; read it," said Nicholas Romanov, now no longer Czar of all the Russias.

The two Duma commissioners read the document, made several slight changes in its wording, and, shaking hands with the ex-Emperor, made their exit from the car where the mightiest autocrat of the civilized world signed away his throne and power.

Two copies of the abdication act were made, and both were signed by Nicholas II. Because of the stormy condition in Petrograd the commissioners feared that one might be lost. They intrusted one copy to General Russky, while they proceeded with the second to Petrograd to tell Russia and the world of the end of autocracy in the Slavic empire.

Grand-Duke Michael Alexandrovitch thereupon became Czar, but he hastened to abdicate also in view of the high pressure of public

opinion. The Duma's desire for a Constitutional Monarchy was universally opposed by the masses. The revolutionary army that overthrew Nicholas was determined to abolish the monarchy altogether. Grand-Duke Michael, therefore, after consulting with a deputation from the Duma, hastened to issue the following statement in regard to the transfer of power to him:

"This heavy responsibility has come to me at the voluntary request of my brother, who has transferred the Imperial throne to me during a period of warfare which is accompanied with unprecedented popular disturbances.

"Moved by the thought, which is in the minds of the entire people, that the good of the country is paramount, I have adopted the firm resolution to accept the supreme power only if this be the will of our great people, who, by a plebiscite organized by their representatives in a constituent assembly, shall establish a form of Government and new fundamental laws for the Russian state.

"Consequently, invoking the benediction of our Lord, I urge all citizens of Russia to submit to the Provisional Government, established upon the initiative of the Duma and invested

with full plenary powers, until such time, which will follow with as little delay as possible, as the constituent assembly, on a basis of universal, direct, equal, and secret suffrage, shall, by its decision as to the new form of Government, express the will of the people."

March 15th, 1917, Nicholas II. was deposed. The following day his brother abdicated, thus ending the rule of the Romanov dynasty in Russia. The Constituent Assembly, referred to in the document of Michael Alexandrovitch, is certain not to restore the autocratic régime that oppressed Russia for centuries.

Nicholas Romanov, the ex-Czar, left Pskov for Moghilev, the General Headquarters, to say good-by to his staff, as he said. He went there and did nothing. The garrison ignored him. He lived in his old quarters, had one brief conversation with General Alexeiev, and then idly waited.

His mother, the Dowager Empress Marie, came up from Kiev to bid her son farewell. In the evening he went to dine in her train and spent hours in talking with her.

Popular opinion grew indignant at the liberty the ex-Czar was allowed to enjoy. There were

rumors that he and his wife were using cipher in telegraphic correspondence. "Why is he allowed to travel about Russia at will?" was the universal question. It was feared that he might use the opportunity to attempt to recover the crown.

General Alexeiev grew restless, fearing the populace might lose patience, and telegraphed to the Provisional Government to have the Czar removed from Moghilev.

The new Government commissioned four Deputies to go to Moghilev and place the ex-Emperor under arrest. The commissioners were loudly cheered on the way to Headquarters and were enthusiastically received by the troops and people of Moghilev. General Alexeiev informed Nicholas Romanov of the arrival of the Deputies and their mission.

Nicholas went to his mother's train to say farewell, then crossed the platform to his own carriage. He was in the uniform of a Kuban Cossack officer, with dagger at side. Crossing the platform amid the silence of the crowd, he held his right hand at the salute, and with the left nervously twirled his mustache.

That gesture was characteristic, wrote a correspondent. It was always Nicholas's way,

instead of deciding, instead of acting, to twirl his mustache and to look in another direction. His Ministers constantly complained he would not say, "Yes," or, "No," and that his invariable reply to importunate requests was either to stare at them with glassy, uncomprehending eyes or to look out of the window.

Twirling his mustache, he crossed the platform and entered his carriage. The Deputies took their seats in another carriage. The few remaining members of the suite, except Nicholas's old boon companion, Admiral Nilov, who was ordered to remain behind, strolled dejectedly into the carriage allotted to them, and at 4.50, March 22d, an hour and fifty minutes after the arrival of the Deputies, the train steamed out of the station.

The lookers-on maintained a grim silence. The Dowager Empress watched from her window the departure of her son who had gambled away his throne.

The train arrived at Tsarskoye Selo at 11.30 on Friday morning. The commandant at Tsarskoye Selo informed the Deputies he had received the necessary instructions from the Government.

Nicholas was delivered over into his charge,

and drove off to the palace in a motor-car with his adjutant. The troops of the garrison looked on in silence.

In the mean time, the ex-Czarina was arrested at Tsarskoye Selo.

At eleven o'clock on Thursday morning General Kornilov, the new Commandant of the Petrograd District, went to the palace and insisted on seeing the ex-Empress. After some delay she came out to him, dressed in black. Then followed a remarkable scene.

In the great reception-room stood the little Siberian Cossack General with a bristling mustache, a man who had heroically fought with his division against desperate odds in the Carpathians during the great retreat; who, fighting to save his men, had himself been taken prisoner; who for months had endured the humiliations and privations of captivity in Austria, who with unfailing pluck had made the great effort to escape and succeeded, walking hundreds of miles disguised as a peasant, through manifold risks and dangers across the Carpathians into Rumania, to gain at last the honor of being first commandant of the revolutionary army in Petrograd.

Opposite him stood the woman whose blind

obstinacy, whose disastrous folly, had been the prime cause of the terrible catastrophe of the Russian retreat. Kornilov had come to arrest her.

She showed more spirit than her husband. She was cold, stern, bitter. Kornilov read the order of the Government. She listened with bowed head.

Half-way through she said, indignantly, "Thank you, you had better not go on." Kornilov persisted in reading the order to the end. The ex-Empress left the room, and Kornilov gave orders to the new guard.

Most of the palace servants were dismissed. Derevenko, the soldier who has been with the Czarevitch over ten years, was allowed to remain.

Three of the ex-Czar's daughters were ill with measles, as also that evil counselor, the close ally of Rasputin, Madame Virubova.

Two Court physicians remained at the palace attending the patients. All the doors of the palace except three were locked and barred. One small garden was left for the captives to walk in.

Telephone, telegraph, and wire connections with the wireless station were cut off. No one

except a few officials were allowed to enter or leave the palace.

Thus had democracy triumphed over autocracy. Czarism, that despotic, dark, and bloody institution, was abolished. On its ruins a new order of life was being rapidly erected. The sun of liberty and true civilization had finally arisen on martyred Russia.

XV

THE NEW RUSSIA

THE Provisional Government, which came into power by the authority of the Duma and the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, represented the flower of the nation's genius. Prince George Lvov, who became Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior, indelibly inscribed in Russian history his reputation as a great organizer while in the post of President of the All-Russian Union of Zemstvos. A man of the highest aristocratic extraction, Prince Lvov was a democrat to the last fiber of his being. With a heart that went out to all humanity, with a spirit that breathed love and noble emotion, the head of the Provisional Government was at the same time a prodigious worker. No member of the Cabinet commanded such universal respect as Premier Lvov.

Paul Miliukov, brilliant leader of the Constitutional Democrats, became Minister for

Foreign Affairs in the new Government. A man of enormous erudition in international politics and history, Miliukov was a fighter as well as a teacher. He was banished from Russia for his liberalism when he was professor in the Petrograd University, toward the close of the nineteenth century. As the guiding spirit of the Constitutional Democrats, as member of the Duma, as editor of the Petrograd newspaper, *Retch*, Miliukov fixed his place in the annals of the development of democracy in Russia like no other liberal leader of his time. He had sharply defined views on the functions and methods of democracy. His attitude toward the Great War was determined largely by the belief that Constantinople and the Dardanelles should be possessed by Russia, and that the non-Teutonic nationalities of Germany and Austria-Hungary should be allowed to work out their own destinies.

An extraordinary member in the Provisional Government, Andrei Shingarev, Minister of Agriculture, took charge of the very complicated food problem. Shingarev began life as a physician in the Voronezh Zemstvo. His work upon the sanitation of the peasantry attracted wide attention. He edited a newspaper, was

elected to the Duma in 1907, and soon acquired national fame as an expert on financial matters. A radical Cadet, his sincere utterances always appealed to the public. After the outbreak of the Great War, Shingarev took up, as a member of a Duma committee, part of the task of organizing the country's resources in the cause of national defense. His ability, versatility, and keen judgment marked him in the eyes of the nation as one of Russia's noblest and greatest sons.

Alexander Guchkov, War Minister, represented the conservative element in the new Russia. He was one of the commissioners who deposed the Czar. For some time he was President of the third Duma, being an Octobrist. He was a soldier-adventurer for many years, participating in almost every war waged on earth since the last quarter of the nineteenth century. He became head of the War Industries Committee after its organization during the Great War, and accomplished big results in the mobilization of the country's industrial resources for the prosecution of the gigantic conflict.

The outstanding figure in the Provisional Government was that of Minister of Justice

Kerensky, a Socialist. His fiery speeches during and after the revolution, his almost fanatical devotion to the masses, his unbounded loyalty to the cause of freedom and democracy, had made him the idol of the people. A young lawyer, Kerensky's passion for justice knew no limitations. As Vice-President of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, he represented in the Ministry those radical forces which were responsible for the revolution and were in control of the working masses.

The President of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, Tcheidze, was one of the dominating figures in the new Russia. The Council which he headed functioned as a separate body along with the Provisional Government. The Council occupied a position equal to that of the fourth Duma. The latter was chosen under a highly perverted election law which gave the peasantry and the labor class almost no representation. The Council represented these two elements. Immediately after the revolution in Petrograd similar labor councils were formed in all the cities of the empire. Both the fourth Duma and the Council of Workmen and Soldiers will cease to exist after the Constituent Assembly meets, which will be

elected on the basis of universal, direct, equal, and secret suffrage. Up to that time the Council will continue to act as the body that expresses, closer than any other institution, the wishes, aims, and hopes of the revolutionary forces which overthrew Czarism.

The first act of the Provisional Government was a decree of full amnesty to all political prisoners. The arrested members of the second and fourth Dumas, the tens of thousands of victims of the despotic régime who were smarting in jail and in the tundras of Siberia were set free. Russia gave a royal welcome to the released martyrs for freedom. The return from Siberia of Catherine Breshkovskaya, "the grandmother of the revolution," was one continuous triumphal journey. Madame Breshkovskaya had spent thirty-four of her seventy-three years in exile. Her arrival in Petrograd was one of the most poignant and dramatic events in the life of the new Russia. She was tendered no ordinary welcome. "It was even more than a state affair," wrote a correspondent. "It was an epitome of the fall of the Romanov dynasty and the resurrection of the masses. Madame Breshkovskaya was received in the Imperial chambers of the Nicolas Station, re-

served under the old régime for personages of royal blood. A Government delegation, headed by Minister of Justice Kerensky, was present to welcome the aged heroine of the long struggle for liberty. But it was almost swallowed up in a surging mass of weeping and shouting ex-terrorists, reformed bomb-throwers and unshackled political convicts who packed the vast drawing-room where great monarchs met and empresses had waited. The walls of the room were banked with flowers, big floral pieces and baskets inscribed, 'To Our Dear Grandmother,' 'To the Queen of the People,' 'To Russia's Martyred Heroine.' It seemed as though the whole population of Petrograd, chanting the 'Marseillaise' and waving red flags, had turned out to greet the old revolutionist."

The new Government proceeded to rid Russia of the evils of the autocratic system. Grand-Duke Nicholas, who had been appointed before the revolution Commander-in-Chief, was removed because of his relation to the Romanov dynasty with which Russia wished to have nothing further to do. Many other chiefs of the fallen régime were arrested, including Baron Fredericks, General Voyeykov, and General Mrozovski of Moscow. Investigations were

begun of the activities of the former bureaucrats, preliminary to trial for their criminal deeds.

The Winter Palace, the Petrograd residence of the Czar, was seized by the new Government. A red flag was hoisted over it, to symbolize the change from Czarism to democracy. In front of the palace and throughout the city the insignia of Czarism were publicly burned. The portrait of Nicholas II. was removed from the Duma. In the Holy Synod the Czar's gold chair was cast out by the new Procurator at the first sitting.

The emancipation of the Jews was taken up immediately. First, all restrictions upon the entrance of Jews into the universities and schools were abolished. Later the "Pale of Settlement," where the Jews had been confined, was abrogated, and the Jews were granted full equal rights with the rest of the population.

A manifesto was issued by the Provisional Government completely restoring the Constitution of Finland. All the edicts promulgated in the fifteen years preceding the revolution, which were contrary to Finnish law, were annulled. Finland thus became fully autonomous, and from a foe of Russia it became an enthusiastic friend of the new order.

A document that thrilled the suffering millions of Poland was next addressed by the Provisional Government to the Poles. It was as follows:

Poles! The old political régime of Russia, the source of our own servitude and disunion and of yours, has now been overthrown forever. Liberated Russia, personified in its Provisional Government, which is invested with full powers, hastens to send you a fraternal salutation, and to call you to new life and to liberty. The old régime gave you hypocritical promises which it could but would not execute. The Central Powers profited by its shortcomings to occupy and devastate your country. . . .

The Provisional Government regards the creation of an independent Polish State, formed of all the territories of which the majority of the population is Polish, as a pledge of a durable peace in the remodeled Europe of the future. Bound to Russia by a free military union, the Polish State will be a solid rampart against the pressure of the Central Powers against the Slav nations. The Polish nation, liberated and unified, will settle for itself the nature of its own Government, expressing its will by means of a Constituent Assembly convoked on the basis of universal suffrage, in the capital of Poland. Russia is confident that the peoples united with Poland for centuries past by their life in common will thus receive a substantial guarantee of their civic and national existence. It will lie with the Constituent Assembly of Russia definitively to consolidate the new fraternal union, and to give its consent to the modifications of Russian territories which will be indispensable for the formation of a free Poland formed of all its three divisions at present separated.

Polish brothers! Take in the spirit of brotherhood the hand held out to you by free Russia! Faithful guardians of the great traditions of the past, make ready now to

usher in a new and brilliant era of your history—the era of Poland's resurrection! May the union of our feelings and our hearts be an anticipation of the union of our States, and may the ancient appeal of the glorious precursors of your liberation be re-echoed with new and irresistible strength! Forward, side by side, hand in hand, for the fight!

The new Government ordered the income from the ex-Czar's and his family's estates to go to the State treasury. The Grand-Dukes and the Princes addressed a joint message to the Government in which they turned over to it their holdings of crown lands and other property, and associated themselves with the abdication of Grand-Duke Michael, expressing at the same time the firm resolution to support in every way the Provisional Government.

The abolition of the death penalty was the next long step of the new Government. It decreed that penal servitude for life or for a term of years should be substituted in cases where the death penalty had been prescribed by the penal code or by military law.

On April 5th the funeral of the victims of the revolution took place. It was a solemn affair, wrote an observer, in which every man, woman, and child in Petrograd, able to walk, marched. The somber aspect of the tremendous funeral

cortège was relieved by innumerable red flags, some of which were bordered in black. Stores were closed, all traffic ceased, and the entire city appeared to be holding its breath until the last relics of the great struggle had been buried. Altogether one hundred and ninety-six persons were killed during the revolution. As the coffins, draped in scarlet bunting, were lowered into the tremendous grave which had been dug in a corner of the historic field of Mars, a series of salutes—one for each victim—boomed across the ice-bound Neva from the fortress of Peter and Paul, where the last Ministers of the fallen régime were confined.

The Provisional Government declared itself in favor of woman suffrage. Women played an important part in the revolution. They were among the first to participate in the demonstrations and were often the leaders in the food riots which preceded the revolt.

The new Government also indorsed the proposal that all the land should be distributed among the peasants. A considerable portion of the country was owned by the Romanov family. The nobility and the Church owned another portion. It was left to the Constituent

Assembly to decide how the land should be expropriated and distributed.

Other matters for the Constituent Assembly to decide, besides the form of Government and the fundamental laws of the new Russia, were the abolition of classes and titles, questions of rights of nationalities and international problems as well as agrarian and labor legislation.

In the new Russia the police were abolished. Every community, from Petrograd to the smallest town, formed a citizen militia to keep order.

The Russian army under the Czar was a cruel machine. The Provisional Government took immediate steps for the democratization of the military system. The soldiery was granted complete religious freedom, free speech, uncensored communication with their homes, delivery of all kinds of printed matter, abolition of servile terms in addressing officers, complete abolition of corporal punishment, and many other reforms that infused a new life into the army.

The Constituent Assembly, it was expected, would have a majority of Socialists. The Social-Democratic newspaper *Pravda* advanced the following program for enactment by the Constituent Assembly:

A biennial one-House parliament.

Wide extension of the principle of local government.

Inviolability of person and dwelling.

Unlimited freedom of the press, of speech, and of assembly.

Freedom of movement in business.

Equal rights for all, irrespective of sex, religion, and nationality.

Abolition of class distinction.

Education in native language; native languages everywhere to have equal rights with official language.

Every nationality in the State to have the right of self-definition.

The right of all persons to prosecute officials before a jury.

Election of magistrates.

A citizen army instead of ordinary troops.

Separation of Church from State and school from Church.

Free compulsory education for both sexes to the age of sixteen.

State feeding of poor children.

Confiscation of Church property, also that of the royal family.

Progressive income tax.

An eight-hour day, with six hours for all under eighteen.

Prohibition of female labor where such is harmful to women.

A clear holiday once a week to consist of forty-two hours on end.

The new Russia thus began a rapid and intensive march along the path of progress and democracy. Should no internal or external mishaps overtake her, Russia was in a fair way to emerge the freest, the most democratic, the greatest nation on earth—a true and fitting leader of all humanity toward true democracy, liberty, justice, and international peace.

XVI

THE FUTURE

WHAT will be the future form of the Russian Government? There can be no doubt that it will be republican. This conclusion is based on the declaration of the Constitutional Democratic Party.

There are in Russia, as in every other country, three divisions of political thought—radical, liberal, and conservative. The conservative section in Russia is composed of the Octobrist, the Nationalist, and the Monarchist factions. All the three combined constitute a small, almost negligible, minority in the voting population of Russia.

There therefore remain only two elements to be considered. The radical element includes in its ranks all kinds of Socialists, beginning with the Laborites and ending with the Social Revolutionists. It is very likely that the various Socialists will have a combined major-

ity in the Constituent Assembly. And the Socialists are, of course, all republicans.

But it is the middle section, the liberal, that may be regarded as the decisive factor in the determination of the new Russia's Government. This element is almost exclusively composed of the large and influential Constitutional Democratic, or Cadet, Party. Up to the revolution this faction favored a Constitutional Monarchy. But a national congress of this party, held in Petrograd in the first half of April, 1917, and attended by fifteen hundred delegates from all parts of Russia, came out unanimously and enthusiastically for a resolution declaring that "Russia should be a Democratic and Parliamentary Republic."

This attitude of the Cadets completely sealed the fate of monarchism in Russia. Still there were those who worried about the views of the peasantry on the subject. There was a general impression that the muzhik still revered his "Little Father." But it turned out to be wrong. Prince Eugene Trubetzkoy, a distinguished publicist, reported to the Cadet congress his impressions of a tour of rural communities he had made after the revolution. He said that the peasants suddenly lost all faith

in the "Little Father," and saw in him only a symbol of police cruelty, graft, and corruption. "We don't want any Czars. It's easy to elect them, but very hard to turn them out," said the peasants who had breathed with relief at the departure of oppression and bribery with the fall of Nicholas II. Prince Trubetzkoy concluded with the remark that the peasantry was solid for a republic.

More important than the question of the form of Government is the paramount question: "Will the new Russia weather all storms and emerge without bloodshed a strong and united democratic nation?" The answer to this question mainly depends on the solution of one certain peril.

The peril that confronts Russia lies in the duality of her supreme authority. The Provisional Government, nominally ruling Russia, and the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, which wields enormous influence over the masses, represent two individual and conflicting forces of public opinion. A mortal clash between the two earlier or later is hardly avoidable.

The Provisional Government represents the progressive middle class. Its interests are the

interests of the Government of France, Great Britain, or the United States. It aims at the destruction of Prussianism in order to safeguard the political well-being of humanity. Its program calls for the abolition of militarism and the establishment of democracy throughout the world.

The Council of Workmen's Deputies stands for far more radical changes in the structure of human life. It is a socialistic body. Composed of delegates of the masses and of representatives of the various revolutionary parties, the Council wants nothing less than social revolution, to be accomplished after the overthrow of autocracy in Europe.

The gulf between the Provisional Government and the Council of Deputies is, therefore, as wide as between the United States Government and Socialism. Only such an upheaval as the revolution could have bridged this chasm between the two extremes. The masses, who won the freedom of Russia, knew that they would not be able to preserve it without the support of the heads of the army and the moderate elements in the nation. They, therefore, turned to the Duma to establish a Provisional Government. The Provisional Government was chosen

from among the members of the Duma because only it could command the immediate support of all the conservative classes, thus saving Russia from a reaction.

But as soon as the new régime was established the masses, through their Council, began to force the Provisional Government to accept their views and act accordingly. Thus it was the Council of Deputies that compelled the Duma Government to demand the abdication of the Czar. For the Duma originally favored a Constitutional Monarchy under Nicholas II. Later the masses again forced the abdication of Grand-Duke Michael, whom the Duma was willing to crown as successor to Nicholas. The Russian Republic was therefore entirely a product of the masses, and not of the academic Duma.

The Council of Deputies continued to exert its influence on the policies of the Provisional Government. A majority of the latter consider the capitalistic development of Russia as one of the chief tasks confronting the new democracy. It would invite foreign investments to the country, straining all its energies to build up Russia industrially and commercially. But the socialistic Council thinks otherwise. It

would not tolerate any schemes for economic expansion.

This gave rise to several differences between the two bodies. Paul Miliukov, the Foreign Minister, gave an interview about three weeks after the revolution in which he expressed the desirability of the annexation of Constantinople to safeguard an open outlet to the sea for Russia—a need which was of a purely economic nature. This interview caused a storm of excitement and agitation in the ranks of the Socialists, who are opposed to any annexations. The Council of Workmen's Deputies showed a disposition to denounce the Government. Prince Lvov, the Premier, hastened to explain that Miliukov's views were entirely personal and did not represent the opinion of the Provisional Government. The latter was urged to issue a declaration denouncing all aims toward annexations or war indemnities, which it did, thus staving off a crisis.

On April 16th a national congress of the Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, held in Petrograd, adopted the following resolutions:

First. The Provisional Government, which constituted itself during the revolution in agreement with the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates of Petrograd, pub-

lished a proclamation announcing its program. This congress records that this program contains in principle political demands for Russian democracy and recognizes that so far the Provisional Government has faithfully carried out its promises.

Second. This congress appeals to the whole revolutionary democracy of Russia to rally to the support of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, which is the center of the organized democratic forces that are capable, in unity with other progressive forces, of counteracting any counter revolutionary attempt and of consolidating conquests of the revolution.

Third. The congress recognizes the necessity of permanent political control, the necessity of exercising an influence over the Provisional Government which would keep it up to a more energetic struggle against anti-revolutionary forces and the necessity of exercising an influence which will insure its democratizing the whole Russian life and paving the way for a common peace without annexation or indemnity, but on a basis of free national development of all of the peoples.

Fourth. This congress appeals to democracy, while declining responsibility for any of its acts, to support the Provisional Government as long as it continues to consolidate and develop the conquest of the revolution and as long as the basis of its foreign policy does not rest upon aspirations for territorial expansion.

Fifth. The congress calls upon the revolutionary democracy of Russia, rallying around the Council of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, to be ready to vigorously suppress any attempt by the government to elude the control of democracy or to renounce the carrying out of its pledges.

The last clause of the resolution was invoked by the Council in the following case: Minister Miliukov had sent the Provisional Govern-

ment's declaration repudiating all annexations and war indemnities to the Entente Governments, accompanying it with an explanatory note containing the words, "It is understood, and the annexed document so expressly states, that the Provisional Government in safeguarding the right acquired for our country will maintain a strict regard for its engagements with the allies of Russia."

When this note was published, a tempest of criticism and protest broke out against the Provisional Government for its adherence to the treaties concluded by the old Government. The crisis, which was partly brought about by agents of Germany and extreme Socialists, soon developed into a serious menace to the new Russia. The leader of the extremists was Nikolai Lenin. He returned to Russia from Switzerland *via* Germany, and his violent pacifist agitation alienated the large following he had as one of the leaders of the Russian Social Democracy.

To Lenin, a capitalist was worse than a king. An industrial magnate or leading banker was to him more perilous than a Czar or a Kaiser. The working classes, he said, had nothing to lose whether their rulers were German, French,

or British. The imperative thing for them to do was to prepare for a social revolution. Meanwhile, preached Lenin, the Russian or any other labor class might as well live under the rule of the Hohenzollerns as be governed by a capitalistic organization.

The Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, however, by an overwhelming majority expressed itself against Leninism. Instead it appealed to the German proletariat to rise and overthrow the Kaiser as the only means to the establishment of peace and the union of the European proletariat in a social revolution.

This is the attitude of the Russian masses toward the question of peace. They do not want a separate peace. Also, they do not want the overthrow of Prussianism for the same reasons as the Governments of the Entente wish it. The ultimate aim of the Workmen's Council is social revolution. To achieve this revolution it is necessary to dethrone the political autocrats first, they say. Then the capitalistic system must be attacked by the working classes of all nations as their common enemy.

But while a separate peace between the new Russia and the Kaiser's Prussian Government is out of the question, the possibility of a sep-

arate peace between Russia and Germany is by no means eliminated. As a matter of fact, such a peace would follow instantaneously in case the German proletariat overthrew the Imperial rulers. In that case the Slav and Teuton worker would combine in an effort to cause a general social revolution.

"The entire efforts of the working classes of Europe must be directed to the task of compelling their rulers," declared the official organ of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, "to relinquish their desires for conquest and of deposing them, as Russia has done, if they refuse to yield. The ruling classes, on the contrary, will endeavor to carry the war on to the desired end. We are ready to stretch out a fraternal hand to the peoples of Germany and Austria if they will compel their rulers to abandon their conquests. But we shall fight against invasion."

That the Russian masses stood for social revolution was shown by a further extract from the Council's official organ. This was a plain challenge to the professed aims of the Allies.

"We are ready to support with armed force the masses of England, France, and Italy," read the statement, "if they compel their rulers to

relinquish the policy of conquest and yet are obliged to defend themselves against Germany. But we shall decidedly protest against a continuance of the war for the sake of the interests of capital whatsoever national flag it may hide."

Russia has already been forced by the masses to come out with a repudiation of any policy of conquest. What the Council of Deputies was endeavoring to do was to have the Provisional Government address a note to the Allied Governments requesting them openly to repudiate any plans for annexations or indemnities. Should such a repudiation be made and still produce no effect in Germany, then only would the Russian masses be "ready to support with armed force the masses of England, France, and Italy."

Such is the power of the radical elements in the new Russia. Should the Allies fail to comply with the request of Russia for an open statement of their war aims, a clash between the Provisional Government and the masses would be inevitable. Should the German and Russian proletariat unite in a social revolution, again the Provisional Government would be facing a crisis, as it represents rather business and commerce than Socialism.

What, then, is the power of the Provisional Government, as compared with that of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies? It is undoubtedly much less than the latter. Originally the power of the Provisional Government was entirely preventive—*i. e.*, it averted a reaction by commanding the confidence of those who would have opposed a Socialist Government. Actual support of its own it had little, for the masses and the soldiery were evidently behind the Council of Deputies, backing the Provisional Government at its orders.

In the first six weeks of its tenure of office, however, the Provisional Government had managed to gather behind it a considerable force of followers. All those conservatives and moderates who dreaded a republican form of government are now back of the Provisional Government. The measures it promulgated so promptly in regard to the Jewish, Finnish, Polish, and other problems have won it many stanch supporters. The reforms in the army and the promise to distribute the land added many more friends to the Provisional Government.

The situation in Russia was fraught with extreme danger on May 4th and 5th. The possibility of a new revolution for a while

loomed high on the Russian horizon. The populace was extremely agitated against Miliukov. Only the Council of Deputies' vote to uphold the Provisional Government for the sake of harmony averted the crisis. Its vote of confidence registered only a majority of thirty-five in twenty-five hundred voters.

The Provisional Government had summoned the Duma soon after the crisis. The Duma will counterbalance the influence of the Council of Deputies. The Duma represents that section of public opinion which supports the Provisional Government. The next attacks of the Council will therefore be directed against the Duma, and any contest as to the policy of the Provisional Government will be fought out between the Duma and the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies.

The new Russia has before it a period of trial and constant peril, the months that will be required to elect the Constituent Assembly. When that body meets, free Russia will have started on the safe road of progress and civilization.

THE END

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